A

SHORT HISTORY OF KASHMIR

FROM

The earliest times to the present day

(The first of its kind)

BY

P. GWASHA LAL B.A.

THIRD EDITION

THOROUGHLY REVISED.
AMPLY ENLARGED.
NICELY ILLUSTRATED.

Copies 1000.

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DEDICATED

TO

The Sacred Memory

OF ALL THOSE

Heroes of Kashmir

WHO HAVE EXALTED

The Name of their Motherland

During the Course of History.

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

The third edition of this book differs from those which have preceded it, chiefly in that a historical map, four more illustrations and numerous additions along with a fresh chapter on geographical divisions and creeds of Kashmir have been inserted. I have tried to make the present edition more accurate and complete by the supplying of some omissions. Every statement of fact incorporated in this volume can be referred to some book of authority or other. To those who, by their encouragement or appreciation, have contributed to this better result I desire to tender my sincere thanks.

GWASHA LAL

Srinagar:
1st November, 1932.

I will sing thee songs of Araby,
And tales of *fair Kashmir*,
Wild tales to cheat thee of a sigh,
Or charm thee to a tear.

C. H. Wills.

WELCOME

TO

The Happy Valley.

(AN INVITATION)

Welcome to the Happy Valley where the world comes to an end and paradise begins.

Who has not heard of the Vale of Kashmir,
With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
Its temples and grottoes and fountains as clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave
alone.

Kashmir is the most beautiful piece of land on the face of the earth, the pleasure-ground of heaven prepared by nature for the earthly people. This earthly heaven, a casket full of gems, pearls and emeralds lies at the foot of the Himalayas, the Lord of the mountains, which is never seen in mid-summer without his snowy night-cap, luring away travellers to the mountain-side with the prospect of a close sight of the great glaciers which come gliding down the rugged slopes. The traveller feels that he is reaching the Promised Land via Mount Ararat and the Deluge—

"A land of clear colour and story,
In a region of shadowless hours.

WELCOME
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Welcome to the Happy Valley where the world comes to an end and paradise begins.

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With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
Its temples and grottoes and fountains as clear,
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave.

Moore.

Kashmir is the most beautiful piece of land on the face of the earth, the miniature heaven prepared by nature for the earthly people. This loveliest and richest casket full of gems, pearls and emeralds lies at the foot of the Himalayas, the Lord of the mountains, which is never seen in mid-summer without its snowy night-cap, luring away travellers to the uttermost ends with the prospect of a near sight of the great glaciers which come sliding down the rugged slopes. The traveller feels that he is reaching the Promised Land *via* Mount Ararat and the Deluge—

"A land of clear colour and storm
In a region of shadowless hours,

When earth has a garment of glories
And a murmur of music and flowers;
In woods where spring half uncovers
The flush of her amorous face."

Kashmir is a country which may rightly be called the 'Earthly Paradise' before which the title 'Eden of the East' should blush. It is here that one sees the masterly touch of the Almighty Power. It is here that the beauties in which nature exhibits herself are full and fresh. It is here that spring appears on the earth's stage in all its glory on account of its delicacy and grandeur. It is here that one breathes out prayers to the Maker more fervently than the most magnificent cathedrals could evoke from him. And it is here that nature is visible to her lover in all her colours.

With the coming of new year the people go out into the public gardens in gala dresses to see and be seen. This is the season when trees are laden with blooming blossoms, when birds of bright plumage are merry with their songs of melody, when the whole ground is covered with green grass, when the landscape presents an exquisitely beautiful look to the eye and one thinks that nature had been busy all the winter time to furnish a sweet garden for Rati and Kama to enjoy. Happy Valley! where even the

poison worms are harmless; where the trees are thronged with parliaments of cheery little butterflies; and where the twittering birds keep up a continuous chorus of 'good morning and welcome' to the traveller.

Kashmir of all others is a country that lends itself to a roving life, to be at one place to-day and at another to-morrow. This Switzerland of Asia is so designed by nature that every traveller who once finds his way here goes back with a reluctant heart. That it is the 'fairy lotus-land'—the full realisation of Tennyson's dream—where all the people are lotus-eaters cannot be gainsaid. It is a country in which with ordinary foresight there should never be a famine or an epidemic. Writes C. Lambert:—The fields of corn, the fruit blossoms and the soft air seemed to tell us we were in England or France. The rice terraces, the birds of glorious plumage reminded us we were in India. While above us were the pine forests of Switzerland or Norway. The whole valley was green with growing corn and gay with fruit blossom—a beautiful picture set in the frame of the snow-clad Himalayas.

Kashmir is a holy land, the Ultima Thule of pilgrimage for the Hindu pilgrims in the north of Hindustan. There is not a space even as large as

a grain of sesamum without a *tirtha,* says Kalhana, the master historian. Compared to this holy land Benares stands as a molehill before a mountain. The whole band of Olympian gods come to play a celestial dance here in spring time. This sacred land of Kashyapa is the philosopher's stone into which one may look with charmed vision. It is also that wonderful elixir of life that was sought by ancient sages for the purpose of perpetuating physical existence.

Shrinagar (wrongly interpreted as the city of the sun), the abode of Lakshmi, lies in the centre of the Happy Valley, otherwise known as 'an emerald set in stones.'

City of cities, are you a dream?
Do you simply drift on the heart's gold gleam?
Do you float on the banks of the brain's blue
stream?
Is there no such city anywhere?

The heights of the mountains which surround this beautiful city gently slope into verdant plains overgrown with flowers of attractive hues thus forming but a dark line in a 'network of silver' in which the Dal Lake glistens like a small mirror. The geographers are but candid in their opinion when they compare it to Florence with the Jhelum

as its Arno.

"Such then is Kashmir, a country where the cheap tripper does not exist nor any picturesque loafers to jodel us at every corner as in parts of the Alps asking a franc for the hideous noise they have made, where even now a very small income goes a long away, where in short every prospect pleases and only man is vile"—J. C. Macdonell. It is no wonder if this our fairyland becomes in near future the focus of oriental civilisation, a second Rome in the heart of Asia.

We have not entered here into the details of the various heart-ravishing places which form the Happy Valley. They are, to single out a few out of the many—Nishat Bagh, Shalimar, Chishma Shahi. Achabal, Manesbal,* Dal Lake, Verinag (likened to a royal umbrella of which the Jhelum is the stick) and so on. For in these places one thinks not of the present rulers but of the Great Moghuls, the Warrior Emperors, of Akbar, of Jehangir, of Shah Jahan and others. They had an infallible eye for the most lovely spots in nature and now after the long lapse of three-hundred years visitors to the Happy Valley still find gardens laid out, fountains

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***It derives its name from the sacred lake on Mount Kailasha usually located at Mansarowar in Tibet.**

playing, shady pavilions to rest in and fruit trees growing just as those mighty men designed them and everywhere the beauties seem enhanced by their intelligent interference with nature, not marred as would so often be the case under the hands of a modern landscape gardener whose eyes baffle at the sight of these exquisite recesses in nature.

The fountains which lull man to sleep grow exceedingly charming when they begin to play on these beautiful spots where one mass of eternal bloom, colour and loveliness prevails. Here Helen of Troy would remain for ever young and Romeo and Juliet could never die. It is as if a giant taking kindly compassion on a weakling suddenly offered him a soft cradle of repose in his mighty arms. These places look exceedingly beautiful in their nakedness even upto this day for no human hands have polluted them yet. We wish that Ruskin were living now to stem in this quarter of the globe the on-coming tide of the present day civilisation. Indeed these lovely spots form fitting places for sages, poets and philosophers to muse upon the abstruse problems of life and death. They ought to be the centres for Universities because these alone can turn out true scholars and heroes. The book of nature is a greater volume than all the books to-

gether. In the words of the poet:—

'Are we not happy? sunlit air,
Soft colour, floods of dewy light,
A flowery perfume everywhere
Pour out their wealth for our delight.'

Well has the writer said, 'Do not call it Kashmir. It is a rival of the celestial fairy land. It is a Paradise on the face of the earth.' Therefore:—

'Hail to the Rose of Kashmere!
The Rose of the Peri!
Hail to the Rose!
May thy life be as soft as the petals—
And ever sweet scented!
Hail to the Rose!
May its branches be over thy head—
And shield thee from danger!
Hail to the Rose!
Everspreading around thee,
Keep thee from harm,
Hail to the Rose!'

So on on to the Happy Valley whose keynote is *Felicity* for

'With quicker spread each heart uncloses,
And all is ecstacy! as now,
The Valley holds its feast of Roses.'

INTRODUCTION.

To write a history of Kashmir from the earliest down to the present day is almost an impertinence, for the literature to be explored is so extensive. Where the field is so wide and so much is still obscure, it must be that I have committed some errors. I shall be grateful to any of my readers for corrections as well as suggestions.

The history of Kashmir is more a chronicle of kings and courts and conquests than of organic or national growth. To realise this there is no better way than to dive deep into the standard works of the following historians:—

Kalhana Pandit, Jonaraja Pandit, Shrinara, Prajyabhata, Haider Malik, Mohammad Azim, Narayan Kaul, Birbal Kachroo, Dewan Kirpa Ram. Of these Kalhana's Rajatarangini is almost a revelation. Among the masterpieces of the world his history is also one. The future history of Kashmir may be written differently—who knows?

For pre-historic period we get some clues from remains of ancient buildings, religious books, ballads, folklore, coins and inscriptions.

History, critically studied, teaches man his duties as citizen. It reveals the vices which cause nations and individuals to decline and fall, and the

virtues which raise them to power and prosperity. Reason and imagination also loom large in the mental horizon by its study. Besides these, history has other advantages also which an honest student only can pick up here and there. It is therefore necessary that this science of sciences should never be ignored whatever the pursuit of life may be.

NOTE ON KALHANA.

Kalhana was probably the son of Canpaka the great Kashmirian Minister under Harsha. Born of a prosperous family he took himself to learning. Kalhana was a Brahmin by caste and a worshipper of Saiva cult. Still he always admired Budhism. The chronicle he has bequeathed to us is all written in verse. The introduction was attempted in 1148-49 and the work was completed in the year following. The writings of Suvrata, Kshemendra, Padmamihara and Chavillakara must have proved of immense help to him for information about early times. Says Kalhana somewhere, "Kashmir may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits but not by forces of soldiers."

There is no doubt that Kalhana has sometimes suppressed and sometimes exaggerated things but his delineation of events suffers nowhere from dereliction.

Proudly we can say that India may have been poor at history but Kashmir was never so. Many a scholar Kalhana has been inspiring from time to time. We safely commend his chronicle to the reader.

The great historian flourished in the twelfth century when Jayasinha was the ruler of Kashmir.

Rajatarangini, his memorable work, will ever remain a model for the world's historians. In his time learning was at its highest pitch. Such a book as the Rajatarangini is unique in the literatures of the world.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS AND CREEDS OF KASHMIR.

Kashmir is a country where the three Empires meet. Within the boundaries of its huge mountainous walls dwells a population widely apart in creed but speaking a common tongue. It is necessary, at the outset, that we should form an idea of the main geographical conditions and leading creeds; for natural boundaries, climate and creeds had much to do with the course of the political history of the country.

Geographical Conditions:—

Kashmir is surrounded on all sides by huge and thick mountainous walls. It occupies a place in the North-West of Hindustan. On the northern side it runs back into the continent of Asia. On the west Afghanistan stares it on face. The plains of the Punjab look up to it from the South for a cool breeze. The Himalayan range lying to its east cuts it off from the rest of the world.

Kashmir was once isolated from the rest of the world by these physical barriers and easy and rapid communication with other countries was rendered impossible. It was not until the advent of the Dogras when the roads had been planned and metalled that there was direct intercourse between

Kashmir and the rest of the world.

We may distinguish two main land divisions of Kashmir, the Frontier and the Valley. The former consists of Gilgit and Ladakh on one side and Muzaferabad on the other. The latter consists of two wazarats—Baramula and Anantnag—through which the Jhelum silently flows. The Frontier is a mountainous tract inhabited by hardy people who witness snow throughout the year. The valley is a vast plain inhabited by ease-loving agriculturists who grow maize and rice in summer and spin cloth in winter. Since Kashmir lies adjacent to the gates of the north-west it has been and continues to be the chief seat of the Aryan and Muslim populations. The Pir Panchal, an entanglement of mountains, ravines and forests often presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of armies and delayed the spread of Muslim civilisation for years.

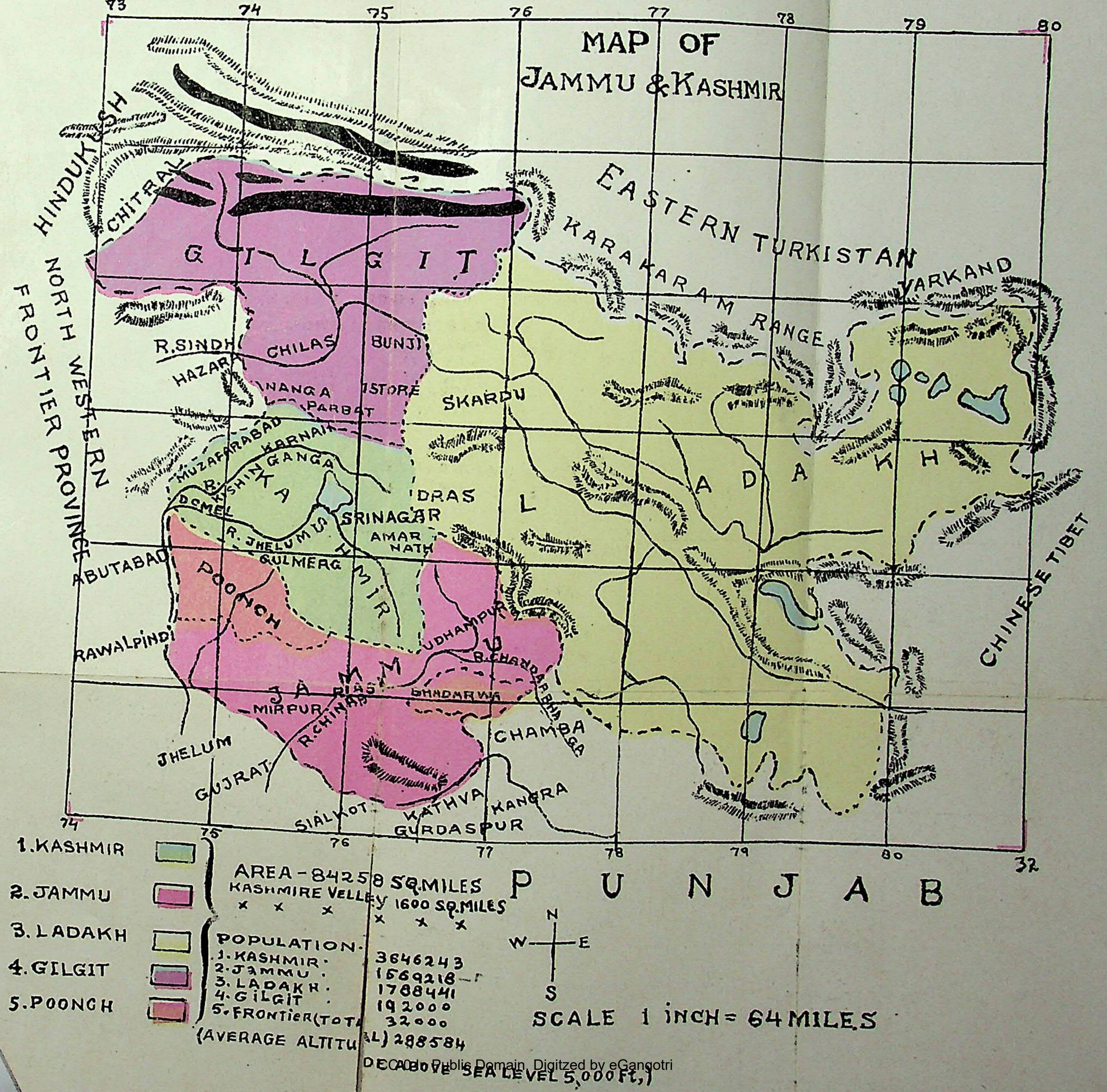
The people of Kashmir enjoying a cool climate commanded a sound physique and we shall read hereafter of many great warriors and world teachers who made Kashmir one of the important states of Hindustan.

The Creeds of Kashmir:—

Let us now consider the chief creeds. They are—Hinduism, Budhism, Islam, Sikhism and

Christianity. The earliest known inhabitants of Kashmir are the Hindus, the offspring of the ancient Aryans. It is out of this stock that subsequent conversions to Islam, Sikhism and Christianity were made. Islam and Sikhism owe their numbers more or less to force and Christianity to mere persuasion. While the Valley is conspicuous by the absence of the Budhists, the Frontier is also equally conspicuous by the absence of the Sikhs. The inhabitants of the Valley are one of the most finely built people of the world and given proper breeding are sure to even eclipse the white races of the West.

The map introduced in this book is intended to show the area of Kashmir and the position it commands as the North-Western gateway to India and to enable the reader to take a bird's eye-view of its political importance.


MAP OF
JAMMU & KASHMIR
HINDUKUSH
CHITRAL
GILGIT
EASTERN TURKISTAN
KARAKARAM RANGE
YARKAND
NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER PROVINCE
R. SINDH
CHILAS
BUNJI
HAZAR
NANGA PARBAT
ISTORE
SKARDU
MUZAFARABAD
KARNAH
KISHINGANGA
KASHMIR
DOMEL
SRINAGAR
IDRAS
LADAKH
R. JHELUM
AMAR NATH
GULMERG
ABUTABAD
POONCH
RAWALPINDI
UDHAMPUR
R. CHANDARBHAGA
JAMMU
BHADARWA
MIRPUR
R. CHINAB
CHAMBA
JHELUM
GUJRAT
SIALKOT
KATHVA
KANGRA
GURDASPUR
CHINESE TIBET
PUNJAB
1. KASHMIR
2. JAMMU
3. LADAKH
4. GILGIT
5. POONCH
AREA - 84258 SQ.MILES
KASHMIRE VELLEY 1600 SQ.MILES
POPULATION.
1. KASHMIR. 3646243
2. JAMMU. 1569218
3. LADAKH. 1788441
4. GILGIT. 192000
5. FRONTIER (TOTAL) 32000
288584
(AVERAGE ALTITUDE ABOVE SEA LEVEL 5,000 Ft.)
SCALE 1 INCH = 64 MILES
N
W
E
S

Think in this battered Caravanserai
Whose portals are alternate night and day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp
Abode his destined hour and went his way.

Ommar Khayam.

CHAPTER I.

PRE-HISTORIC PERIOD.

The early history of Kashmir like the birth of James Yellowplush and many other important events is 'wrapped up in mystery.'

Tradition has it that once the valley of Kashmir was a big lake called the Satisar *i.e.* the lake of Sati (Durga). In it dwelt numerous Pishachas, Yakshas and Nagas headed by a ferocious demon whose name was Jaldeo or Jaludhar. (Prajapati) Kashyapa, a great sage, son of Marichi and grandson of Brahma (the creator of the whole universe according to the Hindu Pantheon), practised penance for a long time. The Gods Druhina, Upendra and Rudra felt compassion for him. At last the goddess Sharika (the guardian deity of many) moved by pity appeared in the form of a sparrow carrying in her beak a pebble which she threw down upon this wicked demon who was a nuisance to humanity. That pebble is the Hariparbat of to-day, the Olympus of the Hindus and the *Bastille* of Kashmir. Thereafter the whole water was drained off across a hole in the earth near Baramula (the furrow of the boar.)*

*Some maintain that in early times it was the dwelling place of Vishnu in his Primeval Boar incarnation.

Since then the land which emerged out of water came to be known as Kashmir after that famous sage Kashyapa. Kashyapa did not live all alone in this land. He invited people from the plains and made them settle here. They came every year in hordes and left again at the approach of winter to re-appear again in spring time. Living in winter here in those days meant a jump into the jaws of death. At this time Nila Nag (Kashyapa's son), the Lord of serpents, came to the rescue and advised people to please the demons by giving them feasts. Nilamat Purana dates from him. Such, according to the tradition, is the origin of this beautiful land which is attracting thousands of tourists to it every year. The existence of too much water appears to be an attestation of the fact which is so nicely wrapped up in fiction.

Another account is available according to which the brother of Vishnu Balabhadra drained the lake with his ploughshare, whereupon Vishnu slew the demon. Geologists corroborate the story only so far as the existence of the lake.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY HINDUS.

History is always continuous. There can be no fresh start. The real history of Kashmir begins probably from five thousand years before Christ. It is said that Sri Ram Chandra of Ceylon fame was the first king who established a kingdom in Kashmir but there is no authentic evidence in proof of the fact though various shrines named after him exist to this day. For about six hundred and thirty-three years Dayakaran and his fifty-five successors (roughly speaking) are said to have ruled in Kashmir. Somadatta was probably last of the line.

Gonanda I came to the throne of Kashmir in about 3121 B. C. Kalhana disputes it. He maintains that Gonanda became king in 2448 B. C. (653 Kali). Professor Wilson places him on the throne in about 1400 B. C. Some suggest 1710 B. C. as the probable date while others are of opinion that he flourished about twenty years before the Mahabharata. The Kurus and the Pandus made noise when about six hundred and fifty-three years of the Kalyuga had passed away.

Gonanda was a relative of Raja Jarasindh who gave a ba tle to Lord Krishna. Gonanda went to

his succour but was done away with near about Muthra.

Gonanda I was succeeded to the throne by his son Damodra I. He also made war with Krishna during the *Soyambara* celebrations of Raja Gandhar's daughter but was killed. Sri Krishna then gave the throne to his pregnant wife (Yasovati was her name) and when the posthumous child was born he was named Gonanda II. It was during his reign that the Mahabharata or The Great War was fought but as he was a mere boy he was not invited by any party. During his reign there came one Haradev, a descendant of the Pandus, to Kashmir. He was very poor. The king took pity upon him and offered him a job in his service. Haradev became such a great favourite of the king that he was soon made the Dewan. One day he seized an opportunity and made an end of the king. It may be noted here that the contemporaries of the Kurus and the Pandus have not been recorded.

Mention is made somewhere of thirty-five kings who followed. Very few of them are remembered now. Raja Ramdev is said to have built the temple at Mattan in about 3007 B. C. Ramdev was a great monarch who had defeated five-hundred

kings in wars. His kingdom extended as far as the Bay of Bengal. He took one-tenth of the land produce as his revenue. Another king named Lava is said to have built the city at Lolara (Lolav). The city contained eighty-four lacs of stone-buildings. Then followed Kusha, Khagendra and Surrendra. Kusha built Kuruhara. Surrendra founded the town Soraka and also built the Khara Narendrabhawna. Raja Sundersen was the twentieth king descended from Haradev. During his time there broke out a big earthquake which caused a heavy loss to the country. After many years the kingdom fell into the hands of Wazir Bamro who snatched it from one Prahlad. This Wazir Bamro fell in love with a woman named Lolare and there is a love song in Kashmiri called Lolare-Bamro which describes the adventures of the couple. Pravarsen was the last figure that appeared on the scene. He is said to have founded the city of Shrinagar. Godara, the scion of another family, is also mentioned to have once occupied the throne. His son Swarna known as 'a giver of gold' was a munificent monarch. After him we come across Janaka, Sacinara and Asoka. It was Asoka who first embraced the doctrine of Jina. According to various accounts Ogyges or Ogbuz, the Scythian, was the first man to have

invaded Kashmir. He was repulsed by Prince Jaqub of Jammu. Ogyges was forced to leave the country but not without taking an enormous loot. Who knows how far this story is true?

Kashmir was not always what it appears to us to-day. It must have been a huge jungle or a rough mass of land which those early kings were destined to rule. The people were quite unlike the polished gentlemen of the present century. They lived in rude huts and icy caves, practising austerities and feeding upon herbs and wild plants. No trade facilities of to-day softened the labour of the people then. Each man had to provide for himself. To spin thread for a loin cloth and to till land besides reading and writing was the occupation of every person. Money was scarce. 'Exchange system' prevailed everywhere. Inspite of all these disadvantages which the modern man is quite rid of, they have left to us a tradition 'in simplicity sublime' which has survived centuries of unrest in the thought-realm influenced by an exotic creed, strange languages and foreign art. The kings who ruled in those days were themselves either scholars or patrons of learning. They administered justice according to the dictates of Dharma. They seldom had any lust for colossal pillage. The Brahmins were highly honoured. Their statesmanship far excelled that of Pitts and Burkes. Such were the times once.

CHAPTER III.

THE BUDHISTS.

Asoka surnamed 'The Pious' conquered Kashmir in about 250 B.C. and with him also came the Budhism. Gautama, its illustrious founder, was the son of Sudhodana, a Sakya nobleman. As a lad he was impressed with the misery of human life by seeing a beggar, a leper and a dead man in the bazar of his native city. This turned over a new leaf in his life. He left his home and the great truth dawned upon him as he sat under a tree at Gaya. He says that desire is the source of all suffering and that its extinction is effected by right belief and resolve, right word and act, right life and effort and right thinking and meditation. Some believe that the Asoka of Kashmir was not the Asoka of Indian fame. According to Kalhana Asoka extirminated mlecchas, root and branch. Shrinagar and Dharamaravya Vihara the top of which could not be seen by the eye are attributed to Asoka. However! The state religion did not draw to itself many followers from the populace as the land was under the sway of the learned Brahmins whose fame of scholarship in the Sanskrit lore had travelled to the distant parts of Hindustan, China, Java and Japan. Low-caste Hindus might have adopted the new

faith. During Asoka's regime supreme peace reigned in the country. He had his capital near about the present Pandrethan. This town was destroyed by fire about the end of the tenth century A. D. Only the old temple which then, as now, stood in water escaped the flames.

Asoka was succeeded by his son Jaluka in about 220 B. C. Jaluka was a great worshipper of Siva, the third of the Hindu Trinity. He had intercourse with Naga maidens and Avadhuta was his principal instructor. There is a legend according to which he possessed a magic substance which could transform baser metals into gold. Mlecchas he routed badly. He conquered Kanyakubja and his kingdom extended as far as Kanauj and Kandhar. About him it is said that he used to go to Wangat and bathe there in the spring every morning. One day he was late. The deity felt compassion for him and by his orders another spring arose in the city called Sahodara (born of the same parents). Thus was he saved of the great trouble of making a long journey every day. To test the identity of Sahodara he threw a golden cup in the original spring and this after two and a half days appeared in the spring at Shrinagar. Such devotees are rare indeed ! To quote another fable,

Krtya once begged food and then human flesh of the king and Jaluka agreed to give from his own body. Where are the numerous temples which he built in his days? The temple on the top of the Shankeracharya hill is also attributed to him.

After Jaluka we come across Damodara II. He constructed a long dam called Gudsetu. It is said that once some Brahmins asked the king for food but he requested them to wait till he would bathe. The Brahmins were offended and they at once pronounced a curse which turned the poor king into a serpent. This legend is known as the 'lengend of Damodara Suda.'

At this time Budhism was at its highest. The Brahmins had become its great admirers. They became its missionaries and went far and wide to preach the new faith to the people. Shak Yashri Bhadia went to China to preach the Gospel of Budha there. Ratnanjira went to Bodh Gaya, Udyana and Tibet to preach the new doctrine there. Arhat Madhyantika roamed throughout Kashmir and acquainted the people with Budhism and its founder.

From about 150-100 B.C. Kashmir was under the subjection of the Tartar Chiefs. They were immediately followed by the Indo-Scythian kings.

These latter subdued Kashmir when the Romans were conquering Britain and Budhism was spreading in China. Hushka to whom the date 125 A.D. is assigned founded Aushkar (Hushkapur) and went his way. Then appeared Jushka on the scene (185 A.D.). He established himself at Zukar (Jushkapur) and passed away in 225 A.D. The most notable figure of these was Kanishka (the Kusan king of Gandhara) to whom the date 120-160 A.D. has been assigned although this must be accepted with hesitation. Many authorities assign to Kanishka's accession the dates 40, 78 and 125 A.D. Dr. Fleet gives the date 58-57 B.C. Kanishka founded the city Kanuspur (Kanishkapura). His empire extended on both sides of the Hindukush, the Pamirs and the Karakaram range. In Kashmir he held the famous third Great Council of the Church which drew up the Northern Canon or 'Greater Vehicle of the Law.' He was a great Budhist monarch and in his time a famous Budhisatva named Nagarjuna lived at Harwan (Sadrhadvana). Kanishka's death was tragical, as the story says, and he was smothered with a quilt. Abhimanyu built the town of Abhimanupura. In his time Candracarya introduced the Mahabhashya. Nilamatpurana was allowed to remain in abeyance for a long

time. Kashmir witnessed a heavy snowfall and it was only averted by the intervention of Nilanag. Gonanda III was a great enemy of Budhism and he gave prominence to Nilamatpurana. Vibhishana I, Indrajit, Ravana and Vibhishana II were all weak kings. Nara was a wicked monarch. Budhism received a death-blow at his hands. He also destroyed the town near Vijayeswara. The legend of Narapura refers to this reign. Nara's son Sidha was a saint. Utpalaksa does not deserve any special notice. Hiranyaksa founded Hiranyapura at the entrance of the Sindh Valley. Hiranyakula and Vasukula we simply mention here.

The white Huns began their raids in Kashmir in the first half of the sixth century when England was under the Saxons. Vasukula's son Mihirakula, the Indian Nero, came to power in about 515 A.D. His kingdom extended from the Kabul Valley to Central India. According to some he got Kashmir in 530 A.D. Perhaps he recovered his lost dominions between 544-550 A.D. The Chinese pilgrim *Sung-Yum* was fortunate to have an interview with *the king*. Mihirakula showed leaning towards Shaiva cult. He was the worst type of a king. In his time tyranny was the order of the day. Surely he was a Trikotiham—the killer of three crores. In his

time people were under abject circumstances. They were treated as worse than beasts. It is said that he never laughed. Once he was seated on the window of his palace when all of a sudden a huge elephant got tumbled down from the top of a neighbouring hill. On seeing the fall he smiled and this was for the first and the last time in his life.* This story may or may not be true but this is certain that he once caused destruction of 100 elephants in the Pass of Pir Panchal. One night he saw in a dream that there was a stone in the Chandrakulya river which could be moved by a chaste woman alone. Next morning he ordered that all women should try at it. All failed except one Chandravati by name, a potter's wife, who accomplished the feat. The king was enraged and got all women killed. Such was Mihirakula. Mihirakula's son Baka was a virtuous man. We pass over Ksitinandu. Vasunanda wrote a handbook on erotics. After Nara II we come across Aksa who founded Aksanala. Gopaditya the Good was a great builder. He founded Agraharas and built the temples of Iyeshthesvara and Sankracharya. Gopaditya's successor Gokarna founded the shrine of Siva Gokarneshwara. Gokarna was suc-

*Some say that the fall was arranged by him.

ceeded by Khinkhila Narendraditya. Udhishtra I ended the first Gonanda dynasty. He was a cruel king. Rebellions forced him to abandon his kingdom. Pratapaditya I, a relative of Harsha Vikramaditya, ascended the throne at the request of the discontented ministers. His son Jalanka ruled justly for a period of thirty-two years. During the reign of Tunjina I a great famine broke out which was averted by the miraculous arrival of countless pigeons. Tunjina was a munificent king. Kavi Candaka flourished during his reign. Vijaya founded the town round Vijayashwara. His son Jayendra was a wicked prince. It was through the magic of witches that Sandhimati, a wise minister, was brought back to life. Sandhimati Aryaraja ruled piously for about forty seven years. The disaffection among his subjects obliged him to abdicate. He died as a recluse at Siva Bhutesa. The throne was then offered to Meghvahana, son of Gopaditya. He was both strong and pious. Meghvahana proved to be a great patron of Budhism. He subjugated Vibhishana of Ceylon during 'Digvijya.' Meghvahana's son S'resthasena built a number of temples at Pandrethan. This monarch had two sons—Hiranya and Tormana. The latter acted as Yuvaraja but was thrown into captivity for striking coins

in his own name. Then followed Matrigupta. Vikramaditya of Ujain despatched this poet with a letter. He did not know what the letter contained. At the frontier pass he was surprised to see himself received by the peoples' representatives. He was a kind ruler. .He maintained peace and bore good will of his subjects. After a reign of about five years he abdicated in favour of Pravarsena II and later on died at Benares as a recluse. Pravarsena heard of Vikramaditya's death and Matrigupta's abdication on his way at Kangra. He conquered Gujrat and founded Pravarapura.* Yudhishthira II built viharas and buildings everywhere. Lokhana and Narendraditya did not become attractive. It is mentioned that Ranaditya ruled for a period of three hundred years. We don't believe this. His queen Ranasambha was almost a goddess. Ranaditya is said to have visited the under-world. His son Vikramaditya ruled for forty-one years and built many sacred buildings. Baladitya was last of Gonanda's race. There was a prophecy that his son-in-law would succeed him. He married his daughter to one Durlabhavardhana, a small official,

*He was the first to build a bridge of boats across the Jhelum and probably made the embankment from the Dal Gate to the city which separates the Chenar Bagh from the Dal Lake.

who proved to be a descendant of Nagakartoke and the throne finally passed into his hands.

Durlabhavardhana ruled for thirty-six years. The date of his accession is given by some as 598 A.D. and by others as 627 A.D. During his reign Hiuen Tsiang, a Chinese pilgrim who visited India in 631-633 A.D., came to Kashmir *via* Hushkapura and made remarkable enquiries about the country and its people. He says that the people are handsome and they have learning and are well instructed. Being a Budhist he was against idolatry and he writes, "This is not much given to the faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." Elsewhere he says that the people are weak, pusillanimous and cunning. Perhaps he was not received well here and hence the latter remark. His son Pratapaditya ruled for fifty years. He built Pratapapur and married Narendraprahba, the wife of a foreign merchant. Chandrapida, his son, ruled for nine years. He was a just king who built many shrines but his death was brought about by witchcraft. He was followed by his brother Tarapid. Tarapid ruled for four years. He was very cruel, and he also died of magic.

Tarapid was succeeded by his brother Lalitaditya Muktapida (699-736 A.D.). He was a con-

temporary of Charlamagne. Lalitaditya was a great monarch. He subjugated Punjab, Kanauj, Tibet, Badakshan and Peking and returned to Kashmir after twelve years of conquest abroad with the poet Bhavabhuti in his custody whom he afterwards made his 'Poet Laureate.' He built the temple of Martand (dedicated to sun) and the town of Purihasapur (Shadipur) where he also raised a mighty column. Besides, he made numerous fine canals and reclaimed waste land but he did not allow to remain more with the cultivators than what they required for a year. So generous was he that he ordered a large cauldron to be constructed from which 100,000 persons could be daily fed.* Rashness was his only vice. In a fit of drunken madness he ordered Pravarsena's beautiful city to be fired and he laughed as he watched the flames. According to another version, his wise ministers managed to save the city by putting a huge pyre of dry hay on fire instead. His vast dominions could not contain him and he again left for Turkestan where he died after a reign of seven years. His son Kunaleyapida ruled piously for one year. Another son

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***He also sent a mission to China of which mention is found in the Chinese annals. Though a Hindu he was sympathetic to Budhism and built a Monastery and Stupa at Hushkapur. His Minister also seems to have been a Budhist of Turkish race.**

Vajraditya proved to be cruel and sensuous. He also ruled for seven years. Prathrapida occupied the throne for four years and one month. Sangramapida I disappeared after seven days only.

On-Kong (759-763 A. D.), another Chinese pilgrim, visited Hindustan in 759 A.D. He also gives a memorable account of the land of Kashyapa and its people. During his visit there was an anarchy in Kashmir. The legitimate successors were either butchered or thrown alive into pits. There was no settled monarchy. The powerful person was master of the game. All was chaos and confusion. On-Kong still saw Budhism in a flourishing condition.

Jayapida's reign began in 764 A.D. and ended in 795 A.D. For conquests abroad he marched out with a huge army and 80,000 litters. At Prayag he gave to the Brahmins one lac horses less by one. The kings of Ganda took to heels before him. By his personal prowess he married Kalyandevi daughter of Jayanta of Bengal where he had gone in disguise. Kanauj fell before him like a bird of prey. On return he slew his brother-in-law Jajja who had usurped the throne during the king's absence. Jayapida was a great patron of learning. He built Jayapura at Andurkoth. The Naga Lord

of the Mahapadma (Wolur) showed him a copper-mine for saving him from a sorcerer. Towards the end he exercised tyranny second only to Mihirakula when fiscal exactions became the order of the day.

Lalitapida ruled for twelve years. He was very indolent and profligate. His half-brother Sangramapida II ruled for seven years. Cippatapida (826-838 A.D.) ruled for twelve years. He destroyed his uncles in the year 813-814 A.D. Ajitapida was a mere puppet. He vacated in the year 850-851 A.D. Anandapida, son of Sangramapida, ruled for a period of three years. Sukhanarman was killed by a treacherous relative after a brief rule of two years.

Avantivarman (855-883 A.D.) who belonged to the Utpala dynasty flourished in the ninth century. He was the most sagacious king. He built temples at Avantipura, the place named after him since his time. His minister Sura also built Harpur. His court was proud of the two famous poets Ratnakara and Anandavardhana. He was a staunch Vaishnava. During his reign the price of shali fell from 200 to 36 Dinnaras. It is about this period that we read of a great engineer name Suyya who drained the valley and reclaimed waste land.

Suyyapur or Sopor commemorates his name even upto this day. When this great engineer was working at Sopor and no workers were forthcoming to plunge themselves into the rushing water, the king ordered that a part of the treasury may be thrown into the water, on seeing which the workers turned up. Thus was the great engineer's scheme worked out. Avantivarman died at Tripuresa. He was succeeded by his son Shankeravarman (883-902 A.D.). For some time he was engaged in a civil war with his cousin Sukhavarman. Shankeravarman was no unworthy son of his illustrious father. He maintained an army of nine hundred thousand foot, three hundred elephants and one hundred-thousand horse (total nine lacs). He was a great conqueror and spent a lot of his time in sub-montane expeditions. He was also avaricious and often revelled in gambling and debauchery. Oppression and fiscal exactions were not rare. Forced labour also was not uncommon. He went on an expedition to Hazara but was killed.

His son Gopolavarman (902—904 A.D.) ruled under the regency of his mother Sugandha. His death was brought about by magic.

Another son Sambata died after a reign of ten

days only. Nirjitavarman's reign was marked by rebellions. Partha (906—921 A.D.) came under the influence of Tautrins whom he paid heavy bribes. His reign witnessed the execution of Suganda and a flood followed by a famine. The Tautrins deposed him in favour of his father Nirjitavarman (921—923 A.D.). His child son Cakravarman (923—933) witnessed a revolution raised by the Tautrins in favour of his half-brother Suravarman I (933—934 A.D.). He was also deposed and Partha put in his place. Partha was again succeeded by Cakravarman in 935 A.D. Sambhanavardhana whom the Tautrins sold the crown got the throne in 935—936 A.D. The Tautrins were defeated by the Domaras at Srinagar in 936 A.D. The result was that Cakravarman got again re-instated in 936—937 A.D. Shambhanavardhana was executed. The king proved very cruel. He married women of the despised Domha caste and raised their relatives to high positions. The Domaras murdered him when he was reclining on the arms of his Domha Queen. Unmatananta (937—939 A.D.), son of Partha, was a cruel king. He destroyed all his relatives. Partha who was living on charity was also one day murdered by the king.

At last he died of consumption. Suravarman II was crowned by Unmatananta in the year 939 A.D. The commander-in-chief of the forces defeated the child-king but the Brahmins whose consent he wanted voted against him. Tasaskara (939—948 A.D.), a Brahmin, was finally chosen for the crown. He had a great legal acumen and ruled mildly. He constructed Mathas and started endowments for students and general public respectively. He chose Vernala as his successor. He died of poison at his Matha. Parnagupta the intriguing minister murdered his son Sangramadeva (948—949 A.D.). Parnagupta (949—950) was a great oppressor. He died of dropsy. His son Kshemagupta (950—958 A.D.) was very sensual and vicious. He built Kshemaganrishwara out of plunder. Kshemagupta married Didda of Lohara who possessed energy and political capacity. Abhimanyu II (958—972 A.D.) ruled under the regency of Didda. Phalguna and other ministers were expelled for suspicious conduct. The faithful minister Narvahana proved very helpful but in the end committed suicide.

Both Nandigupta (972—973 A.D.) and Tribhuvana (973—975 A.D.) were destroyed by

witchcraft. During the previous reign Didda got Diddamath to be built. Bhimagupta ruled from 975—980-81 A.D. Tunga who was a herdsman first became the queen's paramour. Many mourned the death of Phalguna.

There is mention also of Queen Didda who ruled from 980-81—1003 A.D. On the death of her husband she is said to have removed all male scions from the family. She had enough of diplomatic tact but she was fickle also. She made Tunga very important. An expedition against Rajouri was sent under the leadership of Tunga. She was succeeded by her nephew Sangramaraja (1003—1028 A.D.). He was a prudent but weak ruler. Tunga who was first popular became afterwards unpopular. Mahmud Ghazni's invasions of Kashmir in 1015 and 1021 A.D. are the only important events of his reign. Sangramaraja sent some help to Trilocanapala Sahi against Mahmud Ghazni. Tunga was at last murdered at the instigation of the king. Then followed Hiraraja (Haridev). He was a prince of mild disposition. He hardly ruled for about 22 days. Srilekha (the Queen Mother) tried to seize the throne but failed. Next came Ananta Dev 1028—1063 A.D. He married Surya-

mati, the younger daughter of Indracanda. He was a weak administrator but he had a wise counsellor in his Queen.* The Damaras under Tribhauna were routed. The king destroyed the Dards and the Mlecchas. The queen built the temple of Sadasiva. Kashmir had a busy trade with India. One Haladhana of very humble origin rose to the position of prime minister. The king abdicated in favour of his son Kalash Dev 1063—1089 A.D. Like so many of his line he also proved a weak king. There arose a conflict between Ananta and Kalsha in 1076 A.D. Ananta retired to Vijayeshwara with the state treasure. Kalsha set fire to Vijayeshwara and got hold of the treasure. Ananta was enraged and he committed suicide in 1081 A.D. and Suryamati died as a *sati*. This turned aver a new leaf in the character of Kalsha. He helped Sangramapala of Rajapuri. With the help of Vamana and Kandarpa he consolidated his kingdom and improved internal administration. About eight rulers paid homage to him in 1087—1088 A.D. Again he became licentious and died at Martand in 1089 A.D. His son Utkarsa was an injudicious prince. He was thrown into a prison where he committed suicide. Harsha Dev's reign lasted from 1089—

*She gave him wholesome advice in times of difficulty.

1101 A.D. He is not the Emperor Harsha who ruled in India from 606—647 A.D. Harsha had a powerful frame. He was beautiful as well as courageous but a bit self-willed. He was a great patron of learning (science, music and art) and himself a scholar but greed, cunning and craft dominated his character. He was sometimes kind and liberal also. Vijayamala fled to Dardistan where he was killed by an avalanche. Conquest of Rajapuri and changes in dress are two important factors in his reign. He executed his half-brother Jayaraja in 1095 A.D. and Dhammata with his four brave sons. He imposed oppressive taxes and demolished temples to meet the expenses of his pleasures. That is not at all. He also committed acts of incest with his own relatives. The expedition against Rajapuri was not successful. The year 1099 A.D. witnessed plague, dacoity, flood and famine. The persecution of Damaras had a severe effect. Uccala and Sussala fled in 1100 A.D. to Rajapuri and Kalinjara respectively. They both invaded but were repulsed. Their father Malla was mercilessly executed. The king's last days saw nothing but intrigues and rebellions. Kalhana's father Canapaka alone remained faithful to the king. Some maintain that he was cut off and burned. This may

be true but he died fighting like a hero. His successor Uccala (1101—1111 A.D.) was a fairly energetic man. He put down rebellion with a strong hand by following the policy of 'divide and rule'. He ceded Lohara territory to Sussala. But he had his faults also. He was jealous of others' merits. Sussala attempted an invasion but was repulsed. The king first brought up Bhitsacara (the grandson of Harsha) but then he had to take refuge in Malva. A conspiracy was formed against him by Chudda and his brothers and the poor fellow was murdered by the city prefect on the eighth of December 1111 A.D. Radha and Salhana were both weak princes. Next we come across Sussala (1112—1120 A.D.). He was cruel and harsh. He imprisoned Salhana and Lothana. Garcandra, the king maker, was first humbled and then murdered with his three sons and one brother-in-law in 1118 A.D. The Damaras rebelled and defeated the king often. They installed Bhikshacara but he proved sensual. Trade became dull and money scarce. Sussala (1121—1128 A.D.) again seized the throne. The civil war made the country very poor. Jayasinha was nominally crowned but kept under surveillance. The king entered into a secret pact with Utpala, the treacherous agent of Tikka—a powerful baron—

which led to the murder of the king in 1128 A.D. Jayasinha (1128—1149 A.D.) announced general amnesty. According to Jonaraja, Jayasinha ruled five years longer. Utpala was captured and killed. Bhikshacara was routed and killed in 1130 A.D. Suju was murdered by the king in 1133 A.D. at the instigation of courtiers. Feudalism is the important feature of this reign. Bhoja surrendered himself to the king in 1145 A.D. In short the king's whole reign was engaged in wars.

With a few exceptions the ninth, tenth and twelfth centuries are described as full of hardships and misery. Short reigns, murders and suicides were visible from every quarter. Any body could rise to power and snatch the throne from his rival. History generally shows such 'gaps' in her account. France, Italy, Hungary and the Rhine passed through similar ups and downs. How could poor Kashmir remain an exception to the general rule? Kalhana flourished in the twelfth century when Jayasinha was guiding the destinies of Kashmir.

Budhism came to Kashmir when Sanskrit lore was in full bloom. Kashmir had produced eminent scholars and poets whose fame had resounded to the distant ends of the Eastern world. They of course became its admirers, not adherents.

Budhism disappeared from Kashmir by about 638 A.D. and stayed here for about nine centuries causing no change to the Sanatana Dharma. Shankeracharya of blessed memory waged a great war against it. There are many causes that led to the overthrow of Budhism. It deteriorated into a worship of relics and abounded in childish superstitions. It became a monkish guild patronised by wealthy people. Its gods were the inventions of the recluses. The Budhists turned aloof from the people. Sometime savage treatment was meted out to the order. Mihirakula earned for himself a notoriety as an oppressor of the Budhists. Eminent scholars appeared on the scene who revived the Sanskrit literature.

The Budhist monarchs where great builders and architects. They built huge temples and palaces. Fancy gets bewildered when we begin to estimate the men who handled those massive stones and the implements which carved them out.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MUSLIMS.

Mahmud Ghazni sweeped upon Kashmir with a huge army of human locusts over the Pir Panchal Pass in 1015 and 1021 A.D. He met with opposition both from man and elements and had to desist. Nature saved Kashmir from his cruel hands. Mahmud Ghazni possessed great energy and spirit of command joined to a 'burning ambition and the temper of a zealot'. He was a pushing person and the 'colossal pillage' was in his eyes no more than the fit reward of piety. Mahmud was no constructive or far-seeing statesman but he was a great lover of learning.

From 1295-1324-25 A.D. the throne of Kashmir was occupied by Raja Simha Dev. In his time came to Kashmir Shahmir[1] from Swat, Renchan Shah[2] from Tibet and Lankar Chak[3] from Dardistan. They took service under the king and were granted Jägirs.* Little did the king know

*There is mention of invasions by Marco Polo and Mongol Nagodar but it looks too true.

[1]He was grandson of Fur Shah, a famous hermit.

[2]He was a Tibetan Prince who had been defeated by his uncle.

[3]He was a ruler of Durdistan who was vanquished in a battle by his enemies.

that the very men whom he was harbouring in his kingdom with such kindness would one day overthrow the Hindu rule in Kashmir. He well played the host but the guests untrue to their salt returned his hospitality in a way of which very few parallels are there to be found in the world's history. In 1322 A.D., Zulfi Kadir Khan alias Dulch, a descendant of Changez Khan the Terrible, came from Turkistan with a force of 70,000 cavalry and invaded Kashmir. He wrought havoc in the country and carried with him a booty of 50,000 Brahmins as slaves who perished on the way of a snow-storm near a place called the Devasar Pass. Simha Dev fled to Kishtawar and Ram Chand, his general, to Gagangir. When the enemy was gone, Ram Chand returned and declared himself king but was soon killed treacherously by Renchan Shah and Shahmir who had intrigued against him when he was sleeping in his room. Renchen Shah became the most influential man in the court and he married Kuta Rani, daughter of Ram Chand. Being disgusted with the hostile attitude of the Hindus[1] he made a vow that he would adopt the religion of the person he would see early the next morning. It is

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[1] They were headed by one Deva Swami in their protest against his admission into their caste.

said that the person whom he first saw the next morning was one Bulbul Shah who afterwards converted him to Islam. It looks natural that the religion that means to expand must flourish in the world. Renchen Shah (1325—1327 A.D.) assumed the title of Sadr-ud-Din. He persecuted the Hindus and even made up his mind to stamp them out from existence once for all. He built Bulbul Lankar and Khankah. Renchen Shah died after ruling for about two years and seven months.

After his death, Udyandev (brother of Simhadev) returned and ascended the throne in 1327 A.D. He married the widow-queen and reigned for a period of about fifteen years.[1] In 1331 A.D. Urwan, a Tartar Chief, invaded Kashmir *via* Hirpur. The king fled towards Tibet[2] but the queen showed enormous courage. Shah Mirza who was the Prime Minister offered his hand to Kuta Rani, but she refused. She also is said to have reigned for a period of fifty days. Kuta Rani brought about her own death in order to escape from the cruel hands of Shah Mirza who seized the throne and declared himself king under the title of Shams-ud-

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[1]**Shahmir served as Prime Minister under him.**

[2]**He died after reigning for 15 years and two months.**

Din in 1343 A.D. The full story of this tragedy runs like this:—

On Kuta Rani's refusal of Shahmir's offer he went and laid siege to her palace in order to compel her to accept his offer. The siege continued for a long time. The gallant Rani held out splendidly. At last tired and exhausted she decided to give way to avoid further bloodshed of her faithful servants. She sent message to Shahmir that she would now accept his offer. Shahmir became overjoyed at this. A day for the marriage ceremony was settled. There were rejoicings in the whole country. The Rani wore a rich costume and precious ornaments. But Kuta Rani stabbed herself to death on his entering her apartment and called him a despicable wretch for cherishing the idea of marrying his master's widow who was thus his mother. He hardly ruled for about four years. Shams-ud-Din demanded one-sixth of the total land produce as revenue. He was not a bad king but he introduced his own era commencing from the date of coronation of Renchen Shah.

Shah Mir was succeeded by his eldest son Sultan Jamshed (1347—1348 A.D.). His younger

brother Ali Sher rebelled against him and defeated him near about Avantipura. Sultan Ala-ud-Din Ali Sher (1348—1360 A.D.) repaired many buildings and found Ala-ud-Dinpura. His last days were marked by a great famine. He was followed by his eldest son (1360—1378) Sultan Shah-ud-Din. He consolidated internal administration and subjugated almost all the neighbouring chiefs. During his conquests abroad his forces gave a challenge to Feroz Shah Tuglaq. A treaty was signed and Shahab-ud-Din was recognised king from Sirhind to Kashmir. The Sultan played a great part in demolishing the temples of the Hindus. The divorce of his first queen and the outbreak of a severe flood ended the king's days miserably. His brother Kutab-ud-Din (1378—1394 A.D.) succeded him. The king was a patron of learning. The chief Lohara (Loharkot) was killed during his contest against the king. Kutab-ud-Din welcomed Hassan Shah to his court but when the latter rebelled the Sultan caught him and threw him into a prison. During this reign there came one Mir Syed Ali[1] from Hamdan and he engaged himself in proselytising. The process went on very furiously. The

[1]According to certain accounts this was his second visit to Kashmir. the first being in the reign of Shahab-ud-Din (1360—1378 A.D.).

Brahmins generally parted with their lives but not with their faith. It is very seldom that force succeeds. The most notable among these Muslim rulers has been Sikander the Iconoclast (1394—1417 A.D.). He has cut a very sorry figure in the annals of Kashmir by persecuting the Hindus and demolishing their temples. He burnt seven maunds of sacred threads of the murdered Brahmins and put his severe hands upon the temple of Martand and other temples at Avantipur, Pandrethan, Ganeshbal and Bijbihara. To say that he was prejudiced against the Hindus by his minister Siya Bhat, a Hindu convert to Islam, is no strong argument to justify these actions of the king. In his time Timur (1398 A.D.) invaded India but Sikander evaded him by sending him rich presents. Nevertheless he was a strong ruler. The defeat of Raimadri and the visit of Syed Mir Mohamed Hamdani are worth mentioning here. Sikander was succeeded by his son Ali Shah (1417—1423 A.D.). He also waged a war against the Hindus. He was a contemporary of Henry VI. General unrest and extreme tyranny prevailed in the country. All around there was chaos. Protection of property was a thing quite unknown. Privileges and facili-

ties were given to the Muslim alone. The Kashmiri Pandits were reduced to eleven families only. Such was also a time in history.

Zain-ul-Abidin alias Badshah (1423—1474 A.D.) of blessed memory ascended the throne in 1423 A.D. and reigned peacefully for a period of about fifty years.

Wisdom and prudence in all that he did were revealed;

The faculties' hoods seemed under his crown concealed.

He was a great monarch who loved his subjects well. He gave freedom of thought in religion to all. It was in his time that there came from the plains the Kaul and the Dar families headed by Pandit Maheshwar Nath Kaul and Mirza Pandit. Their offshoots are still called *Bhanamasis*. Zain-ul-Abidin was a great patron of learning and maintained a good many scholars both Hindu and Muslim at his court. Once he had a quarrel with the poet Mulla Ahmed. The poet was banished but was soon recalled on writing a panegyric. Hindus gained great favour under him and got nearly all the offices in the state. Those who accepted office came to be called *Karkuns* and the rest *Bachabats*

(priestly class). The latter devoted themselves to religious study and the performance of Vedic rites. The two sections now form two distinct castes and do not still inter-marry. He also was a great engineer and builder. He caused Nalla-Mar (a canal) to be dug out. This was crossed by seven bridges at intervals. In the town of Naushera (founded by him) he constructed a magnificent palace twelve storeys high, of which each storey contained fifty rooms each of which could accommodate five hundred persons at once. This huge building was called Zaina Dab. Zainagir, Zainapur, Zainakut, Zainabazar and Zaina Lank (now known as Sona Lank) are also attributed to him. That is not all. A great dam was built from Anderkot to Sopor which also served the purpose of a road. It is said that one day one of the princes while moving in a boat threw a pebble on an earthen jar carried by a Hindu lady from the Ali Kadal ghat. When her husband learnt this the prince suddenly swooned. How strange that water did not fall from the jar. The prince was restored back to health at the request of the Sultan. Once when the Sultan fell ill it was Sheri Bhat who cured him. What remuneration would he not get from the Sultan but the pious Hindu got the *Jazia* tax abolished in favour of his

community. Zain-ul-Abidin was the first monarch who introduced papier machie, apples and pears to Kashmir for the first time. In war he was indefatigable. He conquered Tibet and the Punjab and spread his kingdom from Peshawar to Sirhind. The Chaks set fire to Zaina Dab but they were flogged and driven back to the country of the Dards. Pandu Chak was caught and put to death but his son Hussan Chak was shown much favour. Tradition says that a Hindu spirit had entered into his body which moved his feelings towards the Hindus. Over and above he was just and merciful. The civil war among his sons made his last days restless.

Haji Khan alias Haider Shah (1474—1475 A.D.) was a drunkard. He persecuted the Hindus and desecrated their temples. Then followed Hassan Shah (1475—1487 A.D.). He did not trouble the Hindus very much but he also took to the habit of drinking. Next we hear of Mohamed Shah (1487—1489 A.D.). His reign was a reign of battles and bloodshed. Fateh Shah came to the throne in 1489 A.D. He converted 24,000 Brahmin families into Islam. Nature also used her weapon against the Hindus. Nine thousand Hindus died on their way to Haramukh Ganga. The place

where they perished is called Hap Radan (dead defile) [1] After him followed Mohamed Shah (second time) 1493—1501 A.D., Fateh Shah (second time) 1501—1514 A.D., Mohamed Shah (third time) 1514—1514 A.D., Fateh Shah (third time) 1514—1517 A.D., Mohamed Shah (fourth time) 1517—1527 A.D., Ibrahim Shah 1527—1529 A.D., Mohamed Shah (fifth time) 1529—1537 A.D., Shams-ud-Din 1537—1538 A.D., Ismail Shah 1538—1540 A.D., Ibrahim Shah II 1540—1540 A.D., Nazuk Shah 1540—1551 A.D., Ismail Shah II 1551—1553 A.D., Iaib Shah 1553—1554 A.D. This whole period is covered by wars of successions. Disorder was rampant everywhere.

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1 Az biyaban Kashida sar tarikh
Ghul gufta—"Tabahiye Panditan."

"Having lifted its head from the desert, the date was said by the will-o'-the-wisp-"the destruction of the Pandits.""

CHAPTER V.

THE CHAKS.

The Chaks were unknown people. They came from the country of the Dards. During Raja Simhadev's reign, as said before, there lived a certain Lankar Chak who secured a job in the king's service. With the advance of time his clan grew in number and influence. The first Chak is said to have been born of a Kashmiri woman and an amorous demon. The lively pools of Trigam were their frequent haunts. Raman Kan are the arrows aimed by gods at them. The Chaks were Shiahs. Ghazi Khan (1554 A.D.) was the first ruler. He was a descendant of Lankar Chak. He converted a number of Hindus to the Shiah religion. About seven rulers of this line were destined to rule upon the throne of Kashmir. They were petty kings, one and all, except that one founded Gulmarg and the other Hassan Chak gave his daughter in marriage to Saleem, the future Jahangir. Akbar sent a huge army against the Chaks under the command of Mirza Kazim. He came through Rajouri and defeated the Chaks in 1586 A.D. Below is given a table showing the line of succession.

Ghazi Chak	..	1554—1563 A.D.

Hassan Shah	.. 1563—1570 A.D.
Ali Shah	.. 1570—1579 A.D.
Yusuf Shah	.. 1579—1580 A.D.
Syed Mubarak Khan	.. 1580—six months and two days.
Lohar Shah	.. 1580—1581 A.D.
Yusuf Shah	.. 1581—1585 A.D.
Yakub Shah	.. 1585—1586 A.D.

Internecine wars were a special feature of this period which covers one-third of a century. Constructive methods were absolutely out of question. Who does not crave for power? Power has no significance if there is no money. The Chaks would employ any means to get revenue. This is also a reason why we have left out details here.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MOGHULS.

The Muslims of India had grown effete. The Empire of Delhi had disappeared. The king's writ was no longer supreme. It was the time of the little princes, the Muluk-at-Tawaif. Babar who had failed in his native home came to India and found a kingdom. To Kashmir he sent his sepoys in 1494 A.D. (according to one account) but they appear on the page of Kashmir's history as meteors who flash across the darkness of the night and are gone. Mirza Haider of Auritapa and Sikander Khan of Kashghar (1532 A.D.) are also said to have invaded Kashmir but could not secure a footing. Humayun also tried his luck but did not succeed. At last the throne of Kashmir lapsed to Akbar in 1856 A.D.

Akbar the Guardian of Mankind (1556-1605 A.D.) was a contemporary of "Queen Bess" of England. After centuries of unrest and oppression he restored peace to the country. His is the noblest figure that ever shone on the throne of India. He built the Hari Parbat Fort and the city of Nagar Nagar inside the huge wall that runs round Hari Parbat. In 1657 A.D. Akbar brought his finance

member named Raja Todar Mal with him. He fixed his camp at Pattan, measured the whole land and fixed the revenue. The labourers who were employed in the construction of the new city were paid at the rate of six annas a day if married and four annas if unmarried. Akbar maintained an army of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry. He visited the country three times. In his times Kashmir yielded a revenue of about one crore. Akbar was a man of great energy and constant occupation, capable of immense and prolonged effort and fond of all manly exercises. On a campaign he was indefatigable. Himself a great thinker, he also respected the sentiments of others. He abolished *Jazia* and other abominable taxes imposed by the Muslim sovereigns upon their Hindu subjects and gave high posts to the Hindus. Akbar ruled Kashmir through the following Governors:—

(1) Mirza Kasim Khan	..	1586—1587 A.D.
(2) Syed Yusuf Khan	..	1587—1590 A.D.
(3) Mohd. Qulich Khan	..	1590—1601 A.D.
(4) Mirza Ali Akbar	..	1601—1606 A.D.

Akbar was succeeded by Jehangir the Great Moghul 1605—1627 A.D. He was a prince of luxurious tastes. He built in Kashmir Shalimar, Chishma

Shahi, Naseem and Verinag which stand to this day. But he abandoned himself to voluptuous ease, to 'Wein, Weib, Und Gesang'. Well goes the saying. He that digeth a well, he that buildeth a fountain and he that planteth a tree is pleasing to the everlasting. Jehangir was a just monarch and the 'fabled bell' verily belongs to him. Death overtook him on his way to Delhi. When Jehangir was dying he was asked if he wanted anything, he replied, "Only Kashmir." History records that the Raja of Kishtwar was brought to knees in 1620 A.D.

The following Governors were deputed by the Moghul court during the reign of Jehangir:—

(1) Nawab Kulbeh Khan .. 1606—1609 A.D.
(2) Hasham Khan .. 1609—1612 A.D.
(3) Safdar Khan .. 1612—1615 A.D.
(4) Ahmad Begh Khan — 1615—1618 A.D.
(5) Dilawar Khan .. 1618—1620 A.D.
(6) Iradat Khan .. 1620—1622 A.D.
(7) Itikad Khan .. 1622—1633 A.D.

Once the Hindus of Kashmir complained against (Qulich) Kulbeh Khan to Emperor Jehangir. He sent to him a warning in the following words in Persian:—

Hakumat panaha. Dadkhwahani tu bisyar,

shukrguzarani tu kam, abi saḥab bar labi tashnagan birez warnah as hakumat barkhez.

"O protector of administration: thy complainants are many, thy thanksgivers few. Pour cloud water on the lips of the thirsty, or else get away from the administration." This warning had not the desired effect and the Governor was atonce dismissed.

Some maintain that Ahmed Beg Khan was an evil star for Kashmir.

Shah Jahan the Magnificent (1627—1658 A.D.) was made of the same mettle as his father. He added immensely to his father's grandeur. They were Muslims of course but they were Muslims of a different breed. There are many instances to show how just they were.

He ruled upon the Peacock Throne and spread hands of command from Balkh to Himalaya. Shah Jahan also visited Kashmir many times. The following Governors were deputed to Kashmir by Shah Jahan's Government.

(1) Zaffar Khan .. 1633—1640 A.D.
(2) Murad Bakhsh .. 1640—1641 A.D.
(3) Nawab Ali Mardan Khan .. 1641—1642 A.D.

Hindu names of places into Islamic and destroyed some Hindu shrines. In the month of Rabi-Ussani A.H. 1044, when the Imperial standard reached the neighbourhood of Bhimber Pass at the foot of the Kashmir hills, His Majesty learnt that the Muslims of this

(4) Zaffar Khan	..	1642—1646 A.D.
(5) Tarbiat Khan	..	1646—1648 A.D.
(6) Hassan Begh Khan	..	1648—1650 A.D.
(7) Ali Mardan Khan	..	1650—1657 A.D.
(8) Lashkar Khan	..	1657—1659 A.D.

Zaffar Khan abolished many taxes such as tax on saffron, tax on wood and poll-tax on sheep and boatmen. Ali Mardan Khan was credited with the possession of the philosopher's stone with whose help he built *serais* on the Pir Panchal route. It was during his time that Muslims headed by one fanatic, Khwaja Mam, set fire to Pandit Mahadev's house and also slew a large number of Brahmins. When this report reached the Emperor Shah Jahan he was very much incensed and punished the offenders.

Writes Mr. M. R. Qanugo in the journal of Indian History for April 1929:—

In Kashmir Shah Jahan changed the

place, owing to their primitive ignorance, gave their own daughters in marriage to the Hindus and also took wives from them. There was an understanding that Hindu women married by Muslims were to be buried and Muslim girls were to be burnt according to Hindu custom after death. The Emperor who is the shelter of the Faith ordered that the Hindus who had married Muslim women must be compelled either to renounce infidelity or to part with their Muslim wives. Jagu, a Zamindar of these parts from whom these despicable customs had originated through the Grace of God and out of fear, at the desire of His Majesty with all his Kinsmen accepted Islam and was honoured with the title of Raja Daulatmand.

Aurangzeb the Man of no Tastes (1658-1707 A.D.) undid what his fathers had done. He was a contemporary of Charles II, James II, and William III. He persecuted the Hindus and taxed them very heavily. George Foster who visited Kashmir in 1783 A.D. talks much of the atrocities committed by Aurangzeb. He says that the Emperor extracted three and a half lacs of rupees from Kashmir and the governor who collected this sum took twenty lacs for himself. What a brutal governor he was?

*[While Aurangzeb was reigning in Delhi, a sage named Pir Pandit Padshah[1] (so says the tradition) was making much noise here. The Emperor was alarmed at this. He summoned him to his court. The Pir went to him through air and appeared before him in a terrible form mounted on a lion. The Emperor easily yielded.] Aurangzeb visited Kashmir once in the year 1663. Three thousand coolies were employed from Bhimber to Kashmir and they received ten crowns for every hundred pounds of weight they carried. The list of Governors may be read as follows :—

(1)	Itimad Khan	1659—1662 A.D.
(2)	Ibrahim Khan	1662—1663 A.D.
(3)	Islam Khan	1663—1664 A.D.
(4)	Saif Khan	1664—1667 A.D.
(5)	Mubariz Khan	1667—1668 A.D.
(6)	Saif Khan	1668—1671 A.D.
(7)	Iftikhar Khan	1671—1675 A.D.
(8)	Quam-ud-din	1675—1678 A.D.
(9)	Ibrahim Khan	1678—1686 A.D.
(10)	Hafiz Ullah Khan	1686—1690 A.D.

*This is only a tale and cannot therefore be taken as historically true.

[1]Some writers maintain that Rishi Pir lived in the time of Jehangir.

(11) Muzaffar Khan 1690—1692 A.D.
(12) Abu Nasar Khan 1692—1698 A.D.
(13) Fazil Khan 1698—1701 A.D.
(14) Ibrahim Khan 1701—1706 A.D.
(15) Nawazish Khan 1706—1708 A.D.

Saif Khan introduced innovations in the form of new exactions such as (*a*) assessing the revenue by the actual measurement of the land in the place of the old practice of making a rough eye-estimate of it based on guess, (*b*) taxing the people to make good any loss or damage to things ordered from the province by the Emperors (qasuri-i-farmaih), and (*c*) change in or deduction from men's salaries due. During his second viceroyalty he promoted agriculture by planting colonies and building a city. Mubarez Khan was a good-natured but indolent man and his Uzbek retainers shamelessly oppressed and ill-treated the people, wounding and killing all who resisted them. Muzaffar Khan and his brother Abu Nasar Khan, both sons of Shaista Khan, enriched themselves by levying illegal cesses, in addition to realising their legitimate fees with the utmost rigour. A story is told that when a copy of the Quran was included among the assets of a certain disputed property, they, after decreeing the shares

of the estate to the different heirs, tore up the sacred volume and took one-fourth of its leaves as the magistrate's lawful fees. Fasil Khan, in addition to being a patron of scholars and holy men, built many mosques, schools, pavilions, sarais, embankments and gardens etc. He was the first to introduce the Kashmiris to the Emperor's service and he also remitted many cesses of former times such as *hasil-i-ghalak* (tax on earthen jars), nimak (salt duty), and damdari (tax on bird-catchers). During Ibrahim Khan's viceroyalty there occurred a civil war between the Shias and the Sunnis in 1684. The Sunnis set fire to the Hasanabad quarter, the Shia's stronghold. Aurangzeb, on hearing of these occurrences, removed Ibrahim Khan from the viceroyalty and ordered the Sunni captives to be released.

The martyrdom of Tegh Bahadur[1]*took place during the reign of Aurangzeb. Tegh Bahadur became the saviour of the Brahmins of Kashmir and gave his head in their stead. To estimate him in just terms he is second only to Christ.

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[1]*The following is briefly the account recorded in Gurmukhi in the *Guru Khalsa Twarikh,* by Bhai

Gyan Singh Gyani, in its Part III, page 1354, and also in the same language in the *Suraj Prakash* by Bhai Santosh Singh Gyani (in the time of Maharaja Ranjit Singh) in its Part I Chap. X:—

"Under the commands of Aurangzeb, Iftikhar Khan was using torture towards the Pandits in Kashmir, and was forcibly converting them to Islam. He also used to seize pretty Panditani girls and make them over as gifts to the Musalmans for their harems. Some pious men among the Pandits then met and decided to go to Amar Nath and invoke mercy of Shiva there for deliverance from the tyrannies of this bigot. At the Amar Nath Cave one of the Pandits saw Shiva in a dream who told him to go to Teg Bahadur, the Ninth Sikh Guru, in the Punjab and ask for his help to save the Hindu religion. He spoke to his companions about this revelation. Then they returned, and about 500 Pandits collected and proceeded to Amritsar and thence to Anandpur where Guru Teg Bahadur was living. They told him about the terrible atrocities committed on them by Aurangzeb's governor, Iftikhar Khan, in Kashmir. The Guru was deeply touched on hearing the details, and was in a sorry and pensive mood. At that time his son, Guru Govind

Singh, who was then a child of nine years of age and was playing outside, came to him. He saw a crowd of Pandits sitting there in distress and his father mute as a fish. He asked his father what he was contemplating. Guru Teg Bahadur, pointing towards the Pandits, told his son mournfully that these Hindus were being forced to renounce their religion and that, he thought, they could be protected if some holy man offered himself to be sacrified for them. Guru Govind Singh with folded hands, said to him—"Father, who else is a holier man, fit for being sacrificed than yourself for saving the Hindu religion? It is, you know, the foremost duty of a Kshatriya to give his head for rescuing the cow and the Brahmin." Guru Teg Bahadur told him—"I have absolutely no hesitation in giving my head but I am grieving that, as you are a child of nine years only, who would take your care after me?" Guru Govind Singh replied, earnestly, "Almighty God would take my care." Guru Teg Bahadur was pleased to hear this courageous answer from his worthy son and then advised the crowd of the Pandits to go to Aurangzeb and tell him straight-away that they, together with all the Brahmins in Kashmir, were quite ready to embrace

Islam if Teg Bahadur, who was the Chief Guru of the Hindus, would first be converted. The Pandits went to Nawab Zalim Khan, the then governor of Lahore, and presented to him their petition which had been dictated by Guru Teg Bahadur. The governor gladly endorsed it and gave it back to the Pandits for presenting it to the Emperor at Delhi. He gave them all necessary help for reaching that place safely. They went and presented the petition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor was highly gratified to read it, as he thought that the mere conversion of one man would automatically accomplish his wicked design. He called the *Qazies* and *Moulvies* in a Durbar and joyfully announced the contents of the petition to them. Of course, they all received the tidings with acclamation. He told the Pandits that he cheerfully accepted the condition laid. He sent them back to Kashmir, making suitable arrangements for their return journey. He wrote to Iftikhar Khan, governor of Kashmir, to desist from forcible proselitising, for, he said, he was now satisfied that no more force was needed for attaining the object in view.

"Aurangzeb sent a letter by an official to Guru Teg Bahadur at Anandpur, inviting him to come to Delhi. Before the Imperial Officer reached him,

the Guru, accompanied by five attendants, started for Agra on 11th Har 1732 (24th June 1675 A.D.). At Agra he was arrested by the Kotwal there and sent to the Emperor at Delhi. His five attendants went with him, reaching Delhi on 1st Maghar 1732 (15th November 1675 A.D.). He had an interview with the Emperor. The latter pressingly solicited to him to embrace Islam. The Guru had words with him, roaring emphatically that he spurned the idea. The Emperor, thereupon, being off the hooks, wrinkled his brows and ferociously ordered the executioner to take the Guru to a place to be beheaded there. While being taken to be put to death, the Guru quietly told one of his five attendants Bhai Jita, that, after he was beheaded, he should take away his head to Guru Govind Singh. On 13th Maghar 1732 (27th November 1675 A.D.) Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded. Bhai Jita stealthily took away his head. He cut and ran. When he neared Adandpur, Guru Govind Singh went forth to meet him and, bowing reverently, received his father's head. In the turban bound round the head was found a paper with the following ennobling words written thereon:—

Sar-i-Khud dadam magar sir-i-Khuda na dadam,

meaning that he had given his head but not God's secret (*i.e.*, religion). The head, which wore the glorious crown of martyrdom, was duly cremated. Guru Govind Singh, being intensely grieved at the ferocity of Aurangzeb in killing his innocent father, took a solemn vow to avenge his death by taking to arms and embarking on a crusade to free the country from the Muslims."

The long roll of natural calamities during the half century of Aurangzeb's reign includes two earthquakes (1669 and 1681), two conflagrations of the capital (1672 and 1678), one flood (1682) and a famine (1688). The conquest of Greater Tibet whose ruler, styled Daldal Namjal in the Persian chronicles, bowed to Islam, caused coins to be struck and the Khutba read in the Emperor's name and built a mosque in his capital, took place in 1666. In 1683 when the Black Qalmaqs invaded his country he begged the aid of his suzerain. An imperial force sent from Kabul under Fidai Khan (the son of the Kashmir Subehdar Ibrahim Khan) drove the Qalmaqs out, re-instated the Lama and returned in triumph with much booty.

During Shah Alam's reign (*1707-1712 A.D.*) Kashmir saw the following Governors:—

(1) Jaffar Khan 1708—1709 A.D.

(2) Ibrahim Khan 1709—1709 A.D.

(3) Nawazish Khan 1709—1711 A.D.

(4) Inayat-ullah Khan 1711—1712 A.D.

The interval upto 1753 A.D. does not look very important.

In 1720 A.D. Mula Abdul Nabi alias Muhta Khan who was the Sheikh-ul-Islam of Kashmir gave instructions to the then governor, Mir Ahmad Khan, to treat the Hindus harshly but the honest governor refused. Muhta Khan then excited the Mohamedans against the Hindus. Muhta Khan was later on beheaded by one Sayid Azhar Khan in a Shia's house which resulted in the destruction of the Shias also at the hands of the Sunnis. Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din succeeded his father as Sheikh-ul-Islam. Emperor Mohamed Shah deputed four governors to Kashmir but they also failed to re-establish peace in the country. Abdul Samad the fifth governor came from Lahore with a huge army in 1722 A.D. He put Mulla Sharaf-ul-Din to death and in one excursion from Naid Kadal to Khwaja Yarbal he got about fifty rebels executed. He removed all the restrictions that were placed on the

Hindus. There was justice again in the land and the poets sang——

> Haka an Samad phutrun zin
> Na rud kuni Sharaf na rud kuni Din.

"Samad (horse) came swiftly; there remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) any where."

The following Governors were deputed to Kashmir during the reign of Farrukh Siyar (1713-1719 A.D.)

(1) Ali Mohamed Khan	1712—1714 A.D.
(2) Aziz Khan	1714—1715 A.D.
(3) Ali Mohamed Khan	1715—1716 A.D.
(4) Ahtram Khan	1716—1716 A.D.
(5) Inayat Ullah Khan	1716—1719 A.D.

The following Governors were deputed to

(1) Inayat Ullah Khan	1719—1720 A.D.
(2) Abdul Samad Khan	1720—1723 A.D.
(3) Azim Khan Bahadur	1723—1724 A.D.
(6) Saadat Khan Bahadur	1712—1716 A.D.

Kashmir during the reign of Mohamed Shah 1719—1748 A.D.).

(4) Inayat Ullah Khan	1724—1725 A.D.
(5) Akidat Khan	1725—1727 A.D.
(6) Aghar Khan	1727—1728 A.D.

(7)	Amir Khan	1728—1735 A.D.
(8)	Dil Diler Khan	1735—1738 A.D.
(9)	Fakhur-ul-Dwala	1738—1739 A.D.
(10)	Ataya Ullah Khan	1739—1741 A.D.
(11)	Asad Baz Khan	1741—1745 A.D.
(12)	Abu-ul-Mansoor Khan	1745—1748 A.D.

The Governors who ruled Kashmir during the reign of Ahmed Shah (1748—1754 A.D.):

(1)	Abul Mansoor Khan	1748—1753 A.D.
(2)	Ali Kuli Khan	1753—1753 A.D.

CHAPTER VII.

THE AFGHANS.

The Afghans came in 1753 A.D under the leadership of Amed Shah Durani. Once again Kashmir fell from the frying pan into the fire and became subjert to the tyrannical rule. The country experienced all the horrors of sick man over again. This period, says Mr. Lawrence, was a time of brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works of chivalry or honour. The whole period was a period of cruel reign anr anarchy. Flagrant tyranny was common-everywhere. About twenty-eight governors ruled upon the throne of Kashmir. Raja Sukh Jiwan became governor in 1754 A.D. and during his reign the Hindus enjoyed some respite. He was defeated by Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamzai in 1762 A.D. The following were the Afghan Governors:—

(1)	Blund Khan Bamzai	1762—1764 A.D.
(2)	Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamzai	1764—1766 A.D.
(3)	Khoram Khan	1766—1767 A.D.
(4)	Mir Fakir Ullah Kant	1767—1767 A.D.
(5)	Nur-ud-Din Khan Bamzai	1767—1770 A.D.
(6)	Khoram Khan	1770—1771 A.D.

(7)	Amir Khan Jawanshir	1771—1772 A.D.
(8)	Amir Khan Jawanshir (Diler Jang)	1772—1776 A.D.
(9)	Haji Karim Dad Khan	1776—1783 A.D.
(10)	Azad Khan	1783—1785 A.D.
(11)	Madad Khan	1785—1786 A.D.
(12)	Amir Dad Khan	1786—1788 A.D.
(13)	Gaffar Khan	1788—1788 A.D.
(14)	Juma Khan	1788—1792 A.D.
(15)	Mirza Khan	1792—1793 A.D.
(16)	Mir Hazar Khan	1793—1794 A.D.
(17)	Mir Rahmat Ullah Khan	1794—1794 A.D.
(18)	Kifayat Khan	1794—1795 A.D.
(19)	Arsala Khan	1795—1796 A.D.
(20)	Abdul Ullah Khan	1796—1802 A.D.
(21)	Abdul Ullah Khan	1802—1807 A.D.
(22)	Ata Mohamed Khan	1807—1813 A.D.
(23)	Mohamed Azim Khan	1813—1819 A.D.
(24)	Jabbar Khan	1819—1819 A.D.

Lal Mohamed Khan (1766 A.D.) persecuted the Hindus in a most brutal manner ignoring all thoughts of humanity. Khoram Khan was an unbiassed governor. He treated the Hindus well. Mir Faqir Ullah Kant to avenge his father's death slew a large number of leading Hindus and forcibly

converted 2,000 Hindus to Islam. Khoram Khan second time quelled a rebellion which had occurred in Kashmir. Haji Karim Dad Khan destroyed the whole Kant family for intriguing against him with Raja Ranjit Dev, the Raja of Jammu.

Azad Khan, a prototype of Nadir Shah, tied up the Hindus two and two in grass sacks and sank them in the Dal Lake. As an amusement a pitcher filled with ordure would be placed on the Hindu's head and which the Muslims would pelt with stones till the Hindu was blinded with filth. He also invaded Poonch which his troops plundered for a week.

Azad Khan was succeeded by Madad Khan and there is a well-known proverb *'Zulmi Azad ra Rasid Madad'* which means that Madad out-Heroded Azad. In those days any Muslim who met a Hindu would say to him, 'Butta Chhuk ta Khosa dita' (you are a Pandit and I will mount you). A Hindu named Dila Ram Kuli won favour of Haji Karimdad Khan and was appointed Dewan. Pandit Nand Ram Tiku, a renowned Kashmiri Pandit, became Prime Minister of Kabul during the governorship of Mir Hazar Khan. For some time his name also appeared in the coin issued from

Kabul. Zairam Bhan, a poor but sagacious Pandit, also rose to the position of Dewan (under Nasir-ud-Mohamed). Abdullah Khan is said to have amassed one crore of rupees within six months of his governorship which he took home to Kabul. However bad the times were, the Hindus did not stop from making known their worth to the world.

The curse of this period was that the governors were not faithful to their masters. They always remained on the look-out to seize an opportunity when they would declare themselves independent. The result was that few constructive measures were contemplated, and fewer still carried out. Says the poet:—

Khwast Haq kin Zamin-i-mina-rang
Chun dile nai shawad ba Afghan tang
Kard bar wai Musallat Afghan ra
Bagha Jamshed dad dewan ra.

"It willed God that this paradise-like land
Should become miserable like the heart of (huqqa) pipe with Afghan (or gurgling noise)
Caused Aghans to overrun it
Gave away the garden of Jamshed to demons."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SIKHS.

Abdul-Ullah Khan (1796—1807 A.D.) was defeated by Sher Mohamed of Kabul at Dwab Gah. The latter appointed his son Ata Mohamed Khan as Governor of Kashmir. Ata Mohamed imprisoned Shah Shujah and afterwards entered into a league with him. They both were defeated by Sher Mohamed Khan who got help from the Sikhs on promise of an annual tribute of eight lacs of rupees. But they out-witted Mohamed Khan and conspired with the Sikh General Dewan Mukham Chand. Shah Shujah promised to surrender the famous Koh-i-Nur and Ata Mohamed the Fort of Attock. He thus struck a double bargain. Wazir Fateh Mohamed Khan appointed his brother Sardar Azim Khan as Governor of Kashmir. He refused to pay the annual tribute and even defeated the Sikh squadron in a battle. Azim Khan went to help his brother who was engaged in war at Qundhar, leaving Jabbar Khan behind to rule in his place. He was the most brutal of all governors. He compelled the Hindus to celebrate the Shive Ratri Festival in the month of Har instead of in Phagan. Such despots are never destined to rule long. Pandit

Birbal Dar fled to Lahore and sought help from the Sikhs. Ranjit Singh's army had made two attempts so far but had failed. The sagacious Pandit promised them success. His wife had committed suicide while his daughter-in-law was seized and sent to Kabul. To avenge this insult he planned this scheme. The Sikhs came over the Pir Panchal. Their army consisted of 30,000 strong. A decisive battle was fought at Shupayan in 1819 A.D. in which the Pathans were routed. Man and horse fell before the on-slaught of the victorious and it almost came to a panic among the Afghans. Azim Khan ruled only for six years.

Ranjit Singh was a great general though illiterate. He was always ready with a short and decided reply to any report read out to him. His memory was excellent and he seldom forgot a thing. His only eye was quick and searching. He possessed acute and lively imagination. In action he was always collected. He was not without faults. "His ambition and licentiousness amounted almost to a vice." In youth he was liberal while in old age he became parsimonious. Moorecraft visited Kashmir in 1822 A.D. He gives a gloomy picture of what he saw. He says that Ranjit Singh

claimed a deficit of five lacs in the revenue of the past year and thus prohibited sale of rice. "Everywhere the people are in the most abject circumstances, exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh Government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers." *Sikha Shahi* is still a bugbear to many. Ranjit Singh never visited Kashmir. The following Governors were deputed by the Sikh Government at Lahore:—

(1) Misri Dewan Chand 1819 A.D.
(2) Dewan Moti Ram 1819—1820 A.D.
(3) Sirdar Hari Singh Nalwa 1820—1821 A.D.
(4) Dewan Moti Ram 1822—1824 A.D.
(5) Dewan Chuni Lal 1825—1827 A.D.
(6) Dewan Kirpa Ram 1827—1831 A.D.
(7) Bhima Singh Ardali 1831—1831 A.D.
(8) Sher Singh 1832—1834 A.D.
(9) Colonel Mian Singh 1834—1841 A.D.
(10) Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din 1841—46 A.D.
(11) Sheikh Imam-ud-Din 1846—1846 A.D.

The Sikh Governors were hard and rough masters. Every shawl was taxed 26 p.c. upon the estimated value. A kotwal had to pay Rs. 30,000 for office. If a Sikh killed a non-Sikh he was fined from Rs. 16 to Rs. 20 out of which Rs. 4 were paid

to the survivors of the killed if he was a Hindu and Rs. 2 if he was a Muslim. Kirpa Ram was nick-named 'kirpa shroin' (shroin being the word for the sound of the boat paddle) so fond of boating he was. He is also said to have introduced crows to Kashmir thought to be necessary for the due performance of funeral rites. In 1827 A.D. three Brahmin women were burned as *satis*. In 1831 A.D. a serious famine broke out in Kashmir which caused immense loss to the country. Some people even fled to the plains. In 1843 A.D. came the Bomhas under the leadership of Sultan Zabardast Khan. He was caught and imprisoned in Srinagar. To avenge this Sher Ahmad, the daring Bomha, destroyed seven thousand Sikhs at Kahori and marched with eight thousand match-locks against Kashmir and defeated Imam-ud-Din with an army of twelve thousand strong near Shilbal. Thereupon Zabardast Khan was delivered back. In the same year Mohi-ud-Din opened the gates of Jama Masjid which had been closed since 1819 A.D. The famine of 1831 A.D. was closely followed by a great flood, a second edition of the Noachian Deluge. A big earthquake and cholera broke out in 1827 A.D. which sweeped away the bulk of the population.

The line of Emperors who proceeded from

Babar's loins are no more. The Afghans also have disappeared. A new nation now rules in India. The Muslims were, as a general rule, curious people deadly opposed to time-honoured institutions other than their own. Mere wanton greed for wealth instigated them to raze the old temples to the ground. Zeal for Islam played probably only a secondary part in their *Jahad* against the non-Muslims. "When they exercised tyranny they left Nero at an immeasurable distance and when they talked misanthropy they out-Timoned Timon." This is the verdict which some historians give but with which we should not necessarily agree. Had they adopted a policy of toleration and respected the sentiments of the so-called heretics they would have become objects of reverence and admiration. Sikandars and Aurangzebs, according to few, grew to be the bugbears of the people who were so cowed down that they crept into holes like mice. Yet the Hindu did not give up his study however much to penury he was reduced. He learnt the Persian tongue better than its pioneers. However cruel the Muslims were they sometimes appreciated the merit of a man. There are instances which show how the Hindu often rose to high

power only through merit. Says the author of 'Emerald set with pearls.' "These Eastern potentates had some magnificent qualities and in some cases their administration was superior to our own." The population of Kashmir in the present day is about 1,569,218 and nearly ninety out of every hundered are Muslims.* Nine hundred years ago there were no Muslims North of the Punjab.

The Sikhs, on the other hand, were a different people. Like Joseph they soon invited their brethren to come and share their prosperity and after a century of power well employed fell to a scramble among the Sikh adventurers and this scramble led to the occupation of the Punjab by the more competent. They defied all quarters and that paved the way to final doom. Guru Gobind Singh had not sown salt in sand but seeds of real martial valour from which grew up a band of warriors destined to win glory. But some selfish and ambitious Sirdars betrayed the trust of the Guru to attain their own ends and thus lost the common cause.

*These figures are taken from the Census Report of 1931.

Genealogical Tree of the Dogra House :—

- Ranjit Deo
  - Brij Lal Deo
  - Dulel Singh
    - Jeet Singh
- Ghunsar Deo
- Soorat Deo
  - Mian Mota
  - Zorawar Singh
    - Kishore Singh
      - Gulab Singh
        - Randhir Singh
        - Sohan Singh
        - Ranbir Singh
          - Pratap Singh
          - Lachman Singh
          - Ram Singh
          - Amar Singh
            - Maharaja Hari Singh
              - Maharaj Kumar Karun Singh
      - Dhyan Singh
        - Hira Singh
        - Jawahir Singh
        - Moti Singh
      - Suchet Singh
  - Dulla Bhoola
- Bulwant Deo



H. H. Maharaja Shri Gulab Singh Ji

CHAPTER IX.

THE DOGRAS.

We have shown before how the Sikhs became absolute monarchs of the Punjab after the Pathans. They were, one and all, a military caste more willing to die in the field in all glory than rot in their filthy homes under the canopy of smoke. Naturally they became a menace to every power that wanted to engulf India under its sway. The English who had almost secured their footing would not tolerate that these 'king logs of the fishes' should impede their onward march. The Sikhs, on the other hand, thought themselves no unworthy rivals of their formidable foes who were superior both in might and policy and the result was that the two forces met at Sobroan on 10th February 1846 A.D. in which the Sikhs were annihilated. The victors got Kashmir and other adjoining districts as part payment of a war indemnity and they made over part of this new acquisition—the whole tract situated eastward of the Indus and westward of the Ravi—to Maharaja Gulab Singh in return of seventy-five lacs of rupees by a treaty signed March 16, 1846 A.D. Well goes the local wit—*Hari Host* which means that an elephant even can be purchased with a *cauri* at times.

Such is money. Indeed it can mould times. Perhaps the English did not know then what Kashmir would turn out to be. The little boy in George D. Maurier's story says to his sister, 'I think Hampstead Heath is far lovelier than Switzerland.' To this his sister replied, 'Why babby, you have never been to Switzerland.' He answered, 'No, but I have seen it on the map.' So the Government must have thought then. Besides this money, Gulab Singh promised to pay an annual tribute of one horse, twelve goats and six pairs of shawls and these are paid even to this day. Sir W. R. Lawrence says that when the second Sikh war coloured the map of the Punjab of the red some regretted the sale of Kashmir to the Dogra Chief. But in his opinion based on some knowledge of the possibilities of Kashmir it was fortunate that the English sold it. Mr. Pannikar in his book "Gulab Singh," the Founder of Jammu and Kashmir, has come to the conclusion that price had little to do with the foundation of Kashmir by Gulab Singh. In fact there was no sale of Kashmir at all, adds he. This argument looks more appealing. Young Husband writes that the English did not annex Kashmir because they had not annexed the Punjab yet.

Maharaja Gulab Singh the Ulysses of the Hills,

despatched Dewan Lakhpat Rai to take possession of Kashmir but Imam-ud-Din, the then Governor, did not surrender and invested the Hari Parbat Fort for about forty days. Gulab Singh's troops were defeated and his General Lakhpat Rai was killed. Maharaja Gulab Singh* then applied to Sir Henry Lawrence for possession and the English snatched the possession from Imam-ud-Din. When Maharaja Gulab Singh came to Kashmir he found the land divided under three heads—one part under mountains, one part under water and one part under Jagirdars. But this did not disappoint the Dogra Lord.

Maharaja Gulab Singh was born on Wednesday 1792 A.D. In his early youth Gulab Singh took service under Ranjit Singh and by dint of his personal merit rose to the Governorship of his own native town in 1820/1822 A.D. Gulab Singh belonged to the school of Napoleon burning with a desire to subjugate the whole world. But his contemporaries were too formidable to allow him to extend his conquests beyond. He sought his game elsewhere and made war with the hill tribes on the

*Maharaja Gulab Singh entered Srinagar on the 9th November, 1846 and reached Sher Garhi at 8 a.m.

Frontiers. Zorawar Singh (not Maharaja Gulab Singh's grandfather) who is believed to have led these campaigns has carved out a name in the annals of Kashmir. He is still on the lips of every Kashmiri (*Zorawara heu*=like Zorawar). He (Gulab Singh)* conquered Ladakh and Tibet, annexed Chilas in 1850 A.D. and subdued Gilgit in 1852 A.D. These places fell before him like birds of game. To conquer these hill Rajas was no easy task. They had forts built every where. Their army consisted of people who were proof against any kind of hardship. To-day they were routed and to-morrow they would again make war and re-capture the lost places.

They never appeared on the battlefield to kill or to die but like the guerillas played 'hide and seek' game. To fight such people was to do battle with the air or to give blows upon water. Gulab Singh who was a great soldier showed sound knowledge and practical experience during his campaigns against the Frontier Districts. Gulab Singh

*Maharaja Gulab Singh's early exploits:—

Subjugation of Mian Dedo in about 1819. Conquest of Kishtwar in 1821.

Subjugation of Ajar Khan of Rajouri.

Frontier Campaigns between 1815 and 1820. Conquest of Ladakh, Baltistan and western Tibet in 1834—1842.

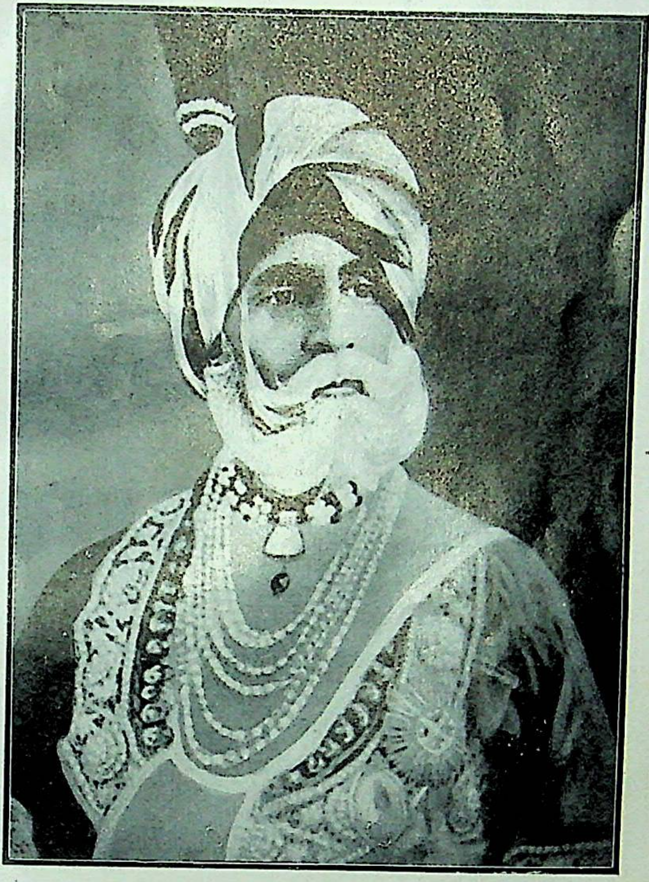
was a great coloniser and he brought together various patches of his kingdom. In Kashmir he put down robbery and the outlaws fell to the earth like sparrows before a hawk. His encouragement of art and patronage of learning besides his grand personality and noble character raised the cities of Srinagar and Jammu from mere barracks to the first rank among the many stately cities of the Indian Empire. "Once Gulab Singh watched with interest the construction of a bridge constructed by convict labour. One convict solicited the Maharaja for a pardon. The offence was the murder of a girl for her jewels. The Maharaja summoned a sawyer who was ordered to saw the man in four pieces." Personally we hesitate to endorse this story. As Sir Henry Lawrence has said, his government was 'mild, conciliatory and even merciful.' People accuse him of being avaricious and overbearing but these charges appear to have been made under the effects of illusion. He died on Sunday (August 1857/58 A.D., the year which witnessed the horrors of the Indian Mutiny and his death was marked by an earthquake.

Internal consoildation:—Safety of trade and commerce. Examination of Jagir grants. Abolition

of *begar* or forced labour, as existed before his time. Rationing of rice in the valley. Reorganisation of the shawl and army departments.

Maharaja Gulab Singh ws succeeded by his illustrious son Maharaja Ranbir Singh.* Raja Randhir Singh and Raja Sohan Singh, his two elder brothers, had already disappeared. Ranbir Singh was a prince of versatile genius and loved his subjects well. Though a staunch Hindu he subordinated his zeal for religion to his sense of justice. Gulab Singh lived only to attempt outward order and security in his unwieldy kingdom, while upon Ranbir Singh fell the task of consolidation. The new ruler spent half a lac upon education and another half upon roads. During his time crime and drunkenness were almost unknown. The economic conditions were such that a rupee would buy 80 lbs. of rice, 12 lbs. of meat and 60 lbs. of milk. Fruits grew in such quantities that they were let rot. In 1872 A.D. the Shias and the Sunis fell out and Ranbir Singh granted three lacs to the Shias by way of relief. A severe famine broke out in 1877 A.D. which the Maharaja faced manfully. In 1876 A.D. the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII), paid a visit

***Maharaja Ranbir Singh was born in 1829 at Ramgarh.**



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to Jammu. Maharaja Ranbir Singh* was granted a G.C.S.I. and a royal salute of 21 guns was fired in his honour with the assent of the Imperial Government. Gilgit was finally annexed in 1869 A.D. Maharaja Ranbir Singh died on 15th September 1885 A.D. peacefully at Jammu. Mr. Lawrence writes that some still believe that the large fish in the river Jhelum near the first bridge is the incarnation of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. We wonder how Mr. Lawrence could know such belief of the people. Is not it that he may have imagined it?

Maharaja Pratap Singh G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D. etc., etc., was born in 1850 A.D. and succeeded to the throne in 1885 A.D. Ranbir Singh had left behind three more sons, namely, Raja Ram Singh, Raja Amar Singh, and Raja Lachman Singh. Raja Lachman Singh died in 1848 A.D. Raja Ram Singh was a great General but death did not spare him. The noble soul expired in 1897 A.D. Raja Amar Singh was one of the richest princes of India and served as Prime Minister and Commander-

*Maharaja Ranbir Singh who rendered valuable services to Government during the Mutiny, and received, in recognition, the right to adopt from collateral branches an heir to the succession on the failure of heirs-male of Gulab Singh on whom alone the country had been conferred by the British—(Younghusband).

in-Chief of the State for some time and died in March 1909 A.D.

Maharaja Pratap Singh through an orthodox Hindu was just and generous. His simplicity and unostentatiousness have become proverbial. He was extravagantly liberal in gifts and not a single day passed without a family or an institution being relieved of some financial embarassement. He was more a sage than a *Kshatriya* and was never found wanting in good advice for the better government of his State. He also had a weakness. Aliens he would prefer to *Mulkis*.

Important Measures.—Abolition of oppressive taxes and remission of the Muslim Marriage Tax. Removal of certain State monopolies such as shawl industry. Establishment of municipalities. Reorganisation of the Military Department. Creation of P.W. Department and Conservancy of Forests. Completion of Bannihal Cart Road and Jhelum Valley Road. Land settlement under Mr. (now Sir) Lawrence. Creation of Shali Stores (now Food Control). Construction of Weir at Chatabal (which helps the small tributaries from being dried up in winter). Establishment of two first class Col-



H. H. Maharaja Shri Pratap Singh Ji.

leges, two hospitals and numerous schools and dispensaries where education and medical aid were given absolutely free. Foundation of Amar Singh Technical Institute. Publication of *The Ranbir* (a vernacular weekly) at Jammu. He accomplished all this inspite of the fact that he had succeeded to a bankrupt kingdom as Mr. Lawrence puts it.

Chief Events.—In 1889 A.D. Maharaja Pratap Singh was forced to voluntary abdication through the cleverness of Col. Nisbet, the then Resident, but *The Akhbariam, The Peoples' Journal* and *The Patrika* unmasked the whole plot. The publication of the famous 'Gilgit Document', 'Condemned Unheard' and 'Kashmir Conspiracy' convulsed the whole country and the Maharaja was restored back to power. Conquest of Hunza. Chitral War. A big earthquake occurred in 1885 A.D. which destroyed many houses. Cholera broke out in 1892 A.D. and wrought much havoc. The year 1893 A.D. witnessed a severe flood which sweeped away about six thousand souls. Visits of two Princes of Wales and Viceroys of India to Jammu and Srinagar respectively. The Great War broke out in 1914 A.D. in Europe. This caused great commotion in the minds of both the rulers

and the ruled and no pains were spared to over-throw the Kaisar who had defied the whole world. Divine Power fought on the side of the Allies and this gave a death blow to Germany and her cruel scheme.

Kashmir's Contribution to the Great War:— In 1914 A.D. Kashmir sent 2nd Kashmir Rifles to the front, the main strength of which was re-inforced throughout the war. Another despatch consisting of two battalions and 2-2nd Kashmir Rifles was sent in 1917 A.D. The total number of these despatches amounted to 1,200 and 1,070 strong. Two Kashmir Imperial Lancers (1915 A.D.) and Kashmir Mountain Battery furnished with six guns (1916 A.D.) largely added to the numerical strength of the war contribution. The money spent on these troops comes to about Rs. 11,000,000 in all. Needless to say that these soldiers won distinction in the field and displayed true martial valour. The war began in 1914 A.D. and ended in 1918 A.D.

Maharaja Pratap Singh died on 23rd September 1925 A.D. at Srinagar and the whole country mourned his death. Maharaja Pratap Singh was not blessed with a son. He had adopted during his

life-time Rajkumar Jagat Dev Singh, second son of Raja Poonch, who performed his obsequies.

His Highness Maharaja Sir Hari Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., son of the late Sir Raja Amar Singh, is the present occupant of the throne. He is educated well in English literature and politics and looks quite promising. After his return from Europe he assisted his uncle in the administration and served the State as Senior and Foreign Member and Commander-in-Chief for some time. He is a great sportsman and loves active life much. He celebrated his Raj Tilak ceremonies from 18th February to 9th March 1926 A.D. with much eclat at Jammu. On the 25th February he announced that 170 Primary Schools should be started in the State and this shows how fond of education of his peoples he is.

Important events and measures:—Enactment of the Agriculturists' Relief Regulation, State Subjects' Definition, Land Alienation Act, Early Marriage Prevention Act (which prohibits marriage of boys under 18 and of girls under 14), Juvenile Smoking Act, and the free compulsory primary education bill which has been applied to the cities of Srinagar and Jammu and to all Municipal towns

and notified areas to start with. Creation of High Court Bench and Scholarship Selection Board known also as Civil Services Recruitment Commission. Amendment of some criminal laws and several sections of the Indian Penal Code. Rajputs and Brahmins are now no longer immune from capital punishment. State visits of Lord Irwin and the Butler Committee. Departure of His Highness to England in 1928 A.D. as a representative of the Princes' Chamber to represent the case of Princes before the Butler Committee. In his absence a severe flood occurred in Kashmir which caused immense loss to the country. This was followed by great fires which destroyed much private property. The pilgrims to Amar Nath Cave also suffered much on account of bad weather on the way. His Highness sent a message of sympathy from across the seas to the sufferers which was well received by the whole country. His Highness' election to the Pro-Chancellorship of the Princes' Chamber. Grant of a G.C.I.E. to His Highness. Revision of orders about headquarters in 1930. Appearance of another flood in 1929 prompted His Highness to create the Flood Division and distribute flood relief fund. Foundation of the State Exhibition which is now

an annual function, Military School for Rajputs at Jammu, Police Training School and the Women's Welfare Association. Establishment of Municipal Committees at Sopor, Baramula, Anantnag, Udhampur, Mirpur, etc., High, Middle and Primary Schools throughout the State, Tubercle Dispensary and Sanatorium at Tangamerg, numerous dispensaries, Industrial Laboratory at Srinagar, Civil Supply Department, Poultry and Dairy Farms, Anti-Rabic treatment centres. Appointment of Retrenchment Commissions, Efficiency Commission, and Annual Representatives' Conference. Organisation of Scout movement. Reclamation of Achhuts. Dicouragement of female infanticide especially among Rajputs by rewards and traffic in women. Screening of Srinagar Sanitation film which the Kashmiri Pandits objected to. Celebration of the Annual Baby Show and the cleanliness week. Reconstruction of Gupkar and Ramnagar palaces, Amar Nath Road, Hari Singh High Street, Tawi and Kohala bridges and Boulevard Road round the Dal lake. Starting of Match Factory, Santonin Factory, Carpet and Silk weaving industries under Government patronage. Introduction of walnut wood seasoning kiln, Drainage system, Life Insurance scheme. Proposal for a

State Bank Scheme. Appearance of the Kashmiri Pandits' Social Uplift Association and Jagirdars' Association. Recognition of persons enjoying Jagirs of Rs. 3,000 as Jagirdars, of those enjoying less as Pattadars and religious grants as Muafis at the recommendation of a Committee appointed for the purpose which also recommended other facilities for them. Suppression of the Kashmir Youngmen's Club, Dogra Sabha and the Ranbir the first Vernacular weekly newspaper of the State and subsequent revival of the last two under permission. Incarceration and subsequent release of Sardar Budh Singh and Vishvanath Kerni for spreading sedition in the state. Experiment of joint electorate system in the Municipalities. Total abolition of Begar (forced labour) and creation of widow-relief fund. Under Government of India sanction full criminal jurisdiction over all Indian Visitors and full civil jurisdiction over all persons in the state irrespective of their nationality is now exercised by the Courts of His Highness' Government.

In 1930 His Highness again left for London to attend the Round Table Conference. During his absence the state cabinet consisting of four councillors appointed by him remained in charge of

good government of the country. The sudden offer of Private Domains to the State, the move to start Panchayats and to advance the country's material prospects added immensely to the popularity of the ruler. The network of canals and roads which has begun to spread throughout the length and breadth of the state has added greatly to the rural uplift in general. Locust campaigns were so heroically fought that they are expected to be rare events now in the future rural history of Kashmir.

On March 9, 1931 Her Highness the Junior Maharani who had accompanied His Highness to London in 1930 gave birth to a prince—Maharaj Kumar Karan Singh Ji (heir-apparent) at Cannes in the south of France. On hearing the news the whole state witnessed unprecedented demonstrations of joy for about three weeks. In honour of the prince's birth charities were profusely distributed, prisoners released and death sentences commuted. The Namakaran Ceremony of the prince took place during the week of festivities following His Highness' arrival at Jammu on the 4th May 1931. At a Durbar His Highness announced grant of a few Jagirs and titles, introduction of free compulsory Primary education of girls within Municipal

limits with a provision of 500 scholarships of Rs. 5 each, legislation of widow re-marriage, remission of arrears of land revenue and 40 years settlement. The temporary loan of a European professor's services (an authority on wool) gave to the state a valuable report on the prospects of a woollen industry in Kashmir.

The year 1931 witnessed signs of a communal outbreak. The following account appears in the Administration Report for the year 1931:—

(The outbreak of another flood in the month of July 1931 in Kashmir caused much loss. His Highness personally inspected every spot in the flood affected area and put the whole Government Machinery in motion. On July 9, 1931, His Highness issued a royal proclamation to his subjects appealing them for inter-communal concord. The proclamation also defined recruitment of services on merit, outlined a policy of non-preponderance of a particular community in services, advised outsiders to adopt a policy of non-interference and gave carte blanche to the police and the magistracy for maintenance of law and order. This was followed by July 13th disturbances and after during which the writer of this book also fell victim to mob fury).

"On 13th July a serious Muslim riot broke out in Srinagar and it was followed by widespread disturbances throughout the State. The overt agitation which in its earlier stages was local, soon spread across the border into the Punjab and numerous *Jathas* organized by the Ahrar Party marched into the State territory from the Punjab in contravention of the law. On crossing the State boundary the *Jathas* were arrested. At one time the total number of Ahrars in the State Jails in con-

nection with the Kashmir agitation was 7000. The number in the Punjab Jails was very much larger. The genesis of the trouble is briefly indicated in the following paragraphs:—

"For several years past certain newspapers in the Punjab had been conducting a hostile propaganda against the administration of the State. The agitation was fomented by the All-India Kashmir Muslim Conference which held a session at Lahore in December 1930, when a number of men belonging to the Youngmen's Muslim Association, Jammu, attended. A great deal of acrimonious criticism was passed against His Highness' Government at the Conference by persons who ought to have known better and the attempt of a Muslim subject of the State to explain the truth about the course of events in the State was frustrated. After this, the Youngmen's Muslim Association of Jammu launched a campaign of agitation against the State Government. The warning administered to the Association by the State Cabinet which was functioning in the absence of His Highness in Europe did not produce

any effect. The *'Inqilab'*, a Muslim newspaper published at Lahore which had made itself conspicuous by publishing grossly exaggerated and inaccurate accounts of the alleged hardships of Musalmans in the State, was proscribed in the State, but it was followed in quick succession by the issue of a series of newspapers which carried on the policy of the *'Inqilab'*, in an increasingly unrestrained manner. A detailed account of the agitation will be found in the reports of the Dalal Committee and the Middleton Enquiry.

Meanwhile two incidents occurred at Jammu which were cleverly used by the agitators to stiffen agitation against the State. The first was when a Sub-Inspector of Police who happened to be a Hindu asked the Maulvi who officiated at the Id prayers not to proceed with the *Khutba* which appeared to him to have taken a political trend. Immediately the Mohammedans present protested that the Police had interfered with the performance of their religious rites. The Inspector-General of Police suspended the Sub-Inspector pending departmental enquiry, but the

local leaders brought a criminal case against him in the Court, where, however, he was acquitted.

The second incident related to the alleged dishonouring of the Quran by a Hindu Constable at the Central Jail in Jammu. This case was investigated by Mr. Wakefield, then Foreign and Political Minister, assisted by the representatives of all important Muslim bodies in Jammu. The finding of the enquiry was that no deliberate insult had been committed. Nevertheless Mohammedans of extreme views all over the State as well as certain of their co-religionists in the Punjab fanned the public opinion against the State Administration and fomented the agitation. Matters came to a head when one Abdul Qadeer, a resident of the North-West Frontier Province, who had come to Kashmir in the capacity of a cook to a British Officer, delivered a seditious speech for which he was prosecuted. This iuvested him with the halo of martyrdom and the crowds which came to watch the proceedings in the Court grew so enormous that the

trial was ordered to be held in the Jail. On the day of the trial a large crowd of Musalmans collected round the Jail and their attitude grew so menacing and violent that the assembly had to be declared unlawful by the Magistrate present and ordered to disperse. Instead of complying with the order the mob cut down telephone wires, set fire to a wing of the Jail building, released some of the prisoners who were being escorted to the Jail, and rushed the gate of the Jail, in consequence of which the Police had to open fire. As a result of the firing 10 insurgents were killed. The mob having been repulsed from the Jail, a section of it marched to Maharaj Gunj, where they looted the Hindu shops. Another mob sacked Hindu houses at Vicharnag. This occurred on the 13th of July. Though, thanks to the presence of the Military pickets which were posted at strategic points in the city, organised violence came to an end the same day, stray assaults continued to be made on individuals in various parts of the city during the next few days. On the 24th of July, the bridge at Sangam, thirty miles away from Sri-

nagar, was set on fire and completely gutted. As numerous complaints were received from both communities regarding the happenings on the 13th July and thereafter, His Highness' Government instituted a Committee of Enquiry consisting of Sir Barjor Dalal and two High Court Judges to investigate the causes and the incidents of the disturbance. The Committee had perforce to be purely official as the Muslim non-officials nominated as members refused to co-operate.

The disturbances of July and of the subsequent months have been made the subject of three enquiries, the first by the Dalal Committee and the remaining two by Mr. Middleton whose services were obtained from the Government of India for the purpose.

The campaign of agitation falls into four periods *viz.*, (1) July as mentioned above, (2) September when serious organized rioting broke out in various important towns of the Kashmir Valley, (3) November when rioting broke out in Jammu and British troops had to be called in, and (4) the Civil Disobedience movement culminating in open

armed rebellion about the end of January in Mirpur, Rajouri and Bhimber in the Jammu Province. The intervening periods were by no means quiet though actually no serious violence took place. These periods of lull were utilized by the agitators in spreading their activities into the districts and establishing agencies all over the country to foment anti-Government feeling among the people at large. The situation within the State was bad enough, but it was aggravated by the efforts made by interested parties outside the State to make Kashmir a pawn in the game of inter-communal politics which at the moment had reached a critical stage owing to the holding of the Round Table Conference in London. Thus, inspite of the fact that His Highness' Government came to an understanding with the local leaders who consented to stop the agitation on receiving certain assurances, the Ahrar party in the Punjab, foiled in the attempt to keep alive the agitation in the State, started sending *Jathas* through the Punjab into the State territories in order to embarrass the Government. In this they had the powerful aid

of Muslim newspapers. So intense was the feeling of fanaticism aroused by the wild stories of oppression under which the Musalmans in the State were supposed to be labouring that thousands of Mohammedans in British India, more particularly the Punjab, came forward to offer themselves for arrest. Eventually the Government of India issued an Ordinance under which the District authorities in the Punjab were empowered to arrest *Jathas* of Mohammedans proceeding to Kashmir. At the same time the Government of India despatched troops to Jammu to help in the restoration of order. This was in the beginning of November. The British troops remained in Jammu up to the 21st of December.

When those responsible for leading the agitation found that the British Government co-operated with the State in the suppression of lawlessness, they launched a campaign of Civil Disobedience in the shape of non-payment of land revenue. There is no doubt that there was a certain amount of distress in several districts of the State in consequence of which His Highness' Government

had already authorised the remission of 12½ to 25% of revenue according to the circumstances of each district. Nevertheless, at the instance of Gauhar Rahman, a leading agitator of Jammu, non-payment of taxes was resorted to by the residents of the Mirpur Tehsil. It is significant that though attempts were also made in the Valley of Kashmir to start a similar campaign they did not bear fruit, the reason being that the peasantry of the districts bordering the Punjab was more susceptible to external influence than the people in the interior. As was apprehended, the so-called non-violent campaign soon became violent and assaults were made on the Military and the Police as well as on private persons, and damage was done to the property of non-Muslims from the 7th of January onwards to the end of the month: practically the whole area comprising the Tahsils of Mirpur, Kotli, Bhimber and Rajouri and the *Ilaqa* of Poonch was under mob rule. Owing to the difficulty of communications and of the scarcity of transport facilities it took some time before military assistance could reach the affected areas

from Jammu. Meanwhile the insurgents, who belonged to war-like communities and many of whom were armed, harried the entire area, burning the houses of non-Muslims, destroying their places of worship and making forced conversions, etc. The important town of Kotli which is the headquarters of a Tahsil, was subjected to a siege by thousands of insurgents who in addition to a number of ordinary firearms and other weapons had brought with them an old gun. Fortunately the town held out through the efforts of the small military detachment consisting of 67 soldiers only and a few Policemen who repulsed the crowd on two occasions with heavy loss. Similarly the town of Rajouri was invested by a mob of several thousand peasants who retired only after the Military had opened fire and inflicted casualties on them. The villages of Alibeg and Sukhchainpur and the Bazar of Seri were burnt down. As the field of operations was large and as it was necessary to relieve the State troops to enable them to deal with the situation in the interior, the Government of India lent the assistance of British and

Indian troops to the State for the maintenance of peace in Mirpur Tahsil. This enabled the State to withdraw its own troops from that Tahsil and to send them to Poonch, Rajouri, Bhimber, etc. By the beginning of February the disturbance was brought under control, though sporadic attempts to create trouble were made at isolated spots. Eventually His Highness' Government deputed Mr. Jardine, Finance Minister, to devise measures for the re-habilitation of the non-Muslim population in the disturbed area and for the maintenance of peace in the future. At the recommendation of Mr. Jardine, a Special Officer was appointed and a grant of one lakh and a half of rupees was sanctioned to assist the fugitive non-Muslims of the Mirpur and Reasi Wazarats in re-settling in their old homes. Endeavours were made to ensure that Mohammedans responsible for inflicting loss on their Hindu neighbours should compensate them and that as far as possible cases be settled out of court. The result was a considerable reduction in Police investigation and the consequent Judicial work. As the disturbances in Mirpur, etc.,

occurred in January 1932, a fuller account of them and of the measures taken by the Government in connection with them will be given in the next year's report.

Besides the Middleton and Dalal Committees, His Highness' Government appointed a Commission of Enquiry into the grievances which the various classes of people in the State alleged they were suffering under and which the Muslim population had made the occasion of the agitation. The Commission comprised both officials and non-officials and was presided over by Mr. B. J. Glancy, C.I.E., whose services were borrowed for the purpose from the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. It examined a large number of witnesses belonging to nearly all Communities and on the basis of the evidence tendered by them made its recommendations, which His Highness' Government were pleased to accept *in toto*. Subsequently Mr. Glancy presided over the Constitutional Reforms Commission which was appointed in pursuance of His Highness' declaration that he would take steps to ensure, so far as possible, the asso-

ciation, in future, of his subjects with the administration of the State. As the labours of both these Commissions were completed and their reports published in the early part of 1932, no reference need be made here to the detailed proposals submitted by them to the Government in regard to their respective terms of reference."

His Highness fulfilled his promise of early consideration of the Muslim grievances by removing the ban of "criminal tribes" from the Bakrawals, reducing the goat-tax from Rs. 2-7 to annas eight and four, restoring Pathar Masjid and the building attached to Mastgar Masjid to the Muslims and re-instating the officials who were dismissed in connection with the agitation within only ten days of submission of the grievances.

The appointment of Raja Hari Kishen Kaul, C.I.E., C.S.I., as Prime Minister at a critical juncture of Kashmir's political history proved an asset to the Government.

Promulgation of 24-L to combat no rent campaign and 19-L on the model of Burma Ordinance, enforcement of the Arms Act within the Municipal limits of Jammu City, and Emergency Powers Re-

gulation in the beginning of the year 1932 were all intended to combat political situation. Under the Regulation certain arrests followed which again disturbed peaceful atmosphere even outside the city of Srinigar (for instance, Baramula, Sopor, Handwara, Tral, and Muzafarabad) where fire also was opened which caused several deaths.

Towards the close of February 1932 Lt.-Col. E. J. D. Colvin succeeded Raja Hari Kishen Kaul as the Prime Minister.

The Constitutional Conference consisting of 12 non-officials, and 2 officials with Mr. Glancy as President met at Jammu by about the Middle of March to evolve a scheme of reforms to be introduced into the State.

Brief recommendations of the Grievances Enquiry Commission:—

(*a*) Full religious liberty (*b*) Non-interference into the Law of Inheritance (*c*) Restoration of religious places (*d*) Educational development (*e*) Minimum qualifications, local recruitment and adequate representation of different communities in services (*f*) Remission of Malikana (*g*) Proprietary rights in respect of lands (*h*) Amendment

of grazing tax (*i*) Protection of Agricultural rights (*j*) Suppression of corruption (*k*) Development of Industries (*l*) Utilisation of Dharat (*m*) Utilisation of Dharmarth Funds for the welfare of all classes (*n*) Suppression of Suthrashahi (*o*) Prohibition of slaughter on four days only in a year (*p*) Free use of public Tanks (*q*) Prevention of infant marriages (*r*) Amendment of Ghat and Boat Taxes (*s*) Amendment of Press Regulation, etc., etc.

It may be noted here that the findings were received by the Hindus with some disappointment. Their agitation based on cry 'for bread' commenced from 6th May which resulted in a number of arrests but peace was again restored by releasing political prisoners and under-trials clapped under Regulation on certain conditions on 4th June '32.

Proclamation dated 6th June 1932:—

Since 13th July last, there have been various disturbances in the Jammu and Kashmir State caused by political agitation on the part of different communities and my Government have subsequently been indulgent in accepting promises of repentance and released prisoners, convicted and under-trial, for different offences against the peace and well-being of my State. It is now notified for the information

of every subject and resident of my State as well as of persons who carry on agitation from outside my State that in future the law will be strictly enforced and no indulgence granted by way of withdrawal of prosecutions or remission of sentences to any person of whatever community who may be misguided enough to commit similar offences in future. This Proclamation is made to remove definitely from the minds of the public any impression that offences against the peace and well-being of my State are different from ordinary penal offences and that my Government will always be prepared to overlook them. So far my Government have shown every possible forbearance, but I and my Government are determined, in future, not to be moved from enforcing the ordinary law and Ordnances in punishing every offence that is detrimental to the peace and prosperity of my State.

The announcement of the revised Press Regution and classification of prisoners as ordinary and special was hailed as a recognition of elementary human right. Connection of State Telephone line with British India improved facilities of communication. Modification of the State Subjects' Definition in July recognising all emigrants into foreign

countries as State subjects for a period of two generations and also foreign nationals residing in the State after 18 years provided they acquire immoveable property under Igazatnama and obtain Ryotnama after ten years of continual residence satisfied many a section interested in it.

Agitation started by one Durganand against His Highness' orders granting Swami Amar Nath Chari to Swami Shivratnanand was soon overcome by deporting him along with two others from Kashmir. The discovery of a bomb in the local college and the explosion of another in Post Office caused some flutter in both official and public circles.

The amicable communal settlement at Anantnag, *i.e.*, construction of the wall by the Dharmarth Department, control of Darashikoh Mosque under Archæology, transfer of outer plot plus Rs. 500 to Muslims and old Patwarkhana to Hindus brought years' old dispute to an end.

In the third week of August the District Magistrate prohibited sermons in mosques except Juma-Musjid, Shah Hamdan and Pathar Musjid under Section 144 to stop clashes between two Muslim sections.

His Highness' observations on the Butler

Committee Report:—"They had imagined a committee different alike in composition and functions from that which ultimately materialised. It was expected that round a nucleus of English statesmen of reputation, there would be grouped representatives of the Government of India, of British India and of Indian States together with financial, constitutional and political experts. Two things were uppermost in their minds: firstly, they had become painfully conscious that what was called political practice, whittled away rights, which they believe to have been safe-guarded by treaties; secondly, they found their position was one of considerable uncertainty not merely in regard to their future relations with a self-governing British India, but also in regard to their present relations with the Government of India. They were anxious to find out precisely where they stood, where their rights began and those of the Paramount Power ended, so that they might take stock of the part they were called upon to play in Greater India which they saw shaping before their eyes, but the Committee from the very nature of its personnel and restricted lines of reference could not conduct an examination satisfactorily. The Committee by its own admission was not a judicial tribunal. This was conclusive evidence that

the States could not receive at its hands that kind of award which was their principal reason for asking for an inquiry at all."

His Highness' speech at the Round Table Conference:—Allied by treaty with the British Crown and within our territories independent rulers, we have come with a full sense of responsibility to our States and all India. As the allies of Britain we stand solidly by the British connection. As Indians and loyal to the land of our birth, we stand as solidly as the rest of our countrymen for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth. Our desire to co-operate to the best of our ability with all sections of the Conference is genuine, as also is our determination to base our co-operation upon the realities of the present situation.

Neither England nor India can afford to see this Conference end in failure. We must resolve to succeed. Difficulties shall not be insuperable. We must exercise patience, tact and forbearance and be inspired by mutual understanding and good-will; and we must give and take. If we succeed, England no less than India gains. If we fail, India no less than England loses. The task is gigantic. In case

of no people would such an aim as ours be easy to accomplish. In case of India, complexity of factors is unique, but by the grace of God and with goodwill and sympathy on both sides difficulties shall be surmounted, and with the words of the King-Emperor still ringing in our ears we, Princes affirm, that the Conference shall not fail through any fault of ours.

PROCLAMATION DATED 5TH OCTOBER 1931.

The tragic incidents of the last few months have caused me intense pain and sorrow. It has been the tradition of my House to base our acts and policies on the affection and good-will of our people and it is my firm belief that this is the best method of governance.

Political offences were absolutely unknown in this country, Hindu-Muslim relations were of the most cordial character and I used to take pride in these two features. Recently however, a regrettable change in the attitude of some of my subjects is clearly noticeable. Considering the trend which events were taking across the border there was a danger of the conflagration spreading to my Territory and unfortunately this has come to pass.

I consider it essential that the present atmosphere of bitterness, suspicion and mistrust should be cleared. It is with this end in view that on the present occasion of my Birthday I make this declaration of policy with regard to certain matters at present exercising the public mind.

In my message of 9th July, I said that I have not made, and will not permit, any discrimination

against any class of my people on the grounds of religion. Notwithstanding that statement it has been said on the public platform and in the press that such a discrimination is as a matter of fact being made against my Muslim subjects. It is alleged that Muslims do not enjoy religious liberty; Azan is prohibited, Khutba is not allowed, etc., I repeat most emphatically that there is no truth whatever in such mischievous allegations. There is no law or Government order which prohibits Azan or Khutba or any other religious rite. Azan and Khutba are being daily called and recited all over the State.

If in any instance a disability has been imposed in regard to any of these matters, it has been due to inadvertance. The Chief Justice has made a pronouncement in a recent case, which will remove any misunderstanding which may have been created. I desire to impress upon all Government servants that it is their duty to see that the religious susceptibilities of no section of my subjects are hurt in any way.

It has also been said in the Press that there are certain laws in the State which particularly affect Muslims prejudicially. Reference is made to the

prohibition of Cow Killing. The abolition of this law is not asked for by my Muslim subjects, who in their telegram to me dated 1st July 1931 stated "No demand for Cow Killing or any matter likely injuring religious susceptibilities any Community. (We) Repudiate such foul attacks." Again in the Memorial presented to me at Srinagar on the 15th August 1931, it was said as follows "The allegations made (by Hindu papers etc.) to the effect that Muslims intend to ask for permission to slaughter cows were clearly made with the object of creating suspicion in Your Highness' mind against your always faithful (Muslim) subjects." No grievance therefore exists on this subject and there is no justification for agitation or suspense about it.

In my message of 9th July I had issued warning that, should God forbid, all appeal to reason fail I must discharge in an effective manner the supreme responsibility which rests upon me for the maintenance of law and order. I regret to say that this warning went unheeded and attempts were repeatedly made during the last three months to defy law and resort to violence and other unconstitutional methods. Faced with such a situation my Government was obliged to call in the aid of the Military

and adopt emergency measures for the restoration of peace and order.

By the grace of God, we have succeeded in maintaining the public peace. In the inevitable clashes with the Military and the Police several lives have been lost which I deeply deplore and much valuable Government property has been damaged. There has also been in the forced hartals and stoppages of work a grave dislocation of business and trade, the full effects of which will be apparent in the winter months when even in normal times there is not much to do in Kashmir. It is a great pity that the poorer classes who gain nothing by such agitation should be made to suffer the most in loss of work and unemployment resulting therefrom.

I believe I am voicing the general feeling when I say that we are deeply grateful to the Troops for their devotion to duty and the self restraint they have shown in maintaining the public peace and the authority of law during the last three months. Their task was necessarily unpleasant and thankless, they were subjected to great personal discomfort, grave provocation and danger to their own lives. But they stood the ordeal and trials admirably.

The Magistracy and the Police have also

worked extraordinarily hard. Some of the members of the Police force sustained most serious injuries in the discharge of their duty and one of them has been cruelly done to death.

To the families of those who have lost their lives I extend my deep sympathy.

To all those officials and non-officials who have worked loyally and zealously in the preservation of law and order I wish to convey my heart-felt thanks.

I now wish to strike a different note. It will be within the experience of many persons assembled here that parents have at times to use force in bringing refractory children to order. But a parent has not the heart to continue to punish a child after it has ceased to be disobedient. What applies to parents in their dealings with children applies to Rulers of Indian States in dealing with their people. I am satisfied that the purpose which my Government had in view in using force has now been served. The law has been vindicated and the impression that it could be defied with impunity no longer exists. I feel therefore that the time has come for a step in the direction of the restoration of absolutely normal conditions. Relying on the loyalty and

devotion of my Muslim subjects to my Throne and Person and reposing the utmost confidence in their good sense and respect for law and authority, I hereby order as follows:—

1. That Notification No. 19-L of 1988 recently enacted be withdrawn, as no present necessity exists for it.
2. That other emergency measures be abrogated at the earliest possible moment.
3. That troops be withdrawn immediately from the Srinagar Civil area to which they have been posted to cope with the situation and from other areas as soon as possible.
4. That all persons interned or under trial for offences against the State or convicted under Notification No. 19-L be released.
5. That all pending prosecutions for offences against the State as distinguished from offences against person and private property be withdrawn and Police inquiries into the similar cases be dropped.

I am directing my Prime Minister to take immediate action. I am confident that the indication given above of my desire to bring about a peaceful

atmosphere will evoke a genuine and loyal response.

It is unnecessary for me to repeat that if any section of my subjects desire to submit any reasonable requests they will receive my sympathetic consideration.

I have done my duty. It is now for you, my people, to do yours. God bless you all and guide you. Ends.

Latest events:—

The Hindus who had boycotted cleanliness week celebration and the Muslims who had co-operated with it came unfortunately into clash with one another on 22nd September, the day of procession. The quarrel which looked at first trivial developed soon into a big communal outbreak and continued for full four days. Had not Providence come to rescue the contagion which had already spread to Anantnag would have spread further. Mob attacks, stray assaults, loot, desecration of shrines, casualties (deaths of two Kashmiri Pandits at least according to official report) and what not, the like of which was never witnessed before during the last 60 years, that followed compelled the Government to enforce section 144 and call Military aid. But the leaders restored calm again.

The month of October witnessed the first All Jammu and Kashmir State Muslim Political Conference which was held at Pathar Musjid, a huge fire which broke out at Bulbul Lanker and which gutted about 20 houses and destroyed property worth about over a lac, several arrests and searches which the police made within Hindu Community in connection with bomb incidents and which caused a little flutter and the first Kashmiri Pandits' political and social conference (Sharika Sammelan) which was held at Shitalnath. Retrenchment Committee (1932) revealed a deficit of about 25½ lacs in the total revenue which was about Rs. 2,53,08,000 in 1931 and the deficit was due to trade depression and disturbance. All state temples were thrown open to Harijans by royal proclamation dated 2-11-1932. The Vitasta, a vernacular daily, appeared from Srinagar for the first time on 30-10-1932.

CONCLUSION.

We study from the history of the past that the Kashmiris were no petty people living in a mere jungle. Their jungle was the sacred land—what Jerusalem is to the Christians and what Mecca is to the Muslims—to which the scholars of the world paid homage. Even to the present day the sacred city of Benares acknowledges the intellectual superiority of Kashmir. Every boy there walks seven paces towards Kashmir at the time when his thread ceremony takes place. Alberuni (1017—1030 A.D.) says that Benares and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu Science. It is Kashmir that produced the greatest historians, poets and philosophers. Yet the modern critic comes forward and says that the Kashmiris have no tradition. This is no offence to us. The Kashmiris of to-day descend from the mighty sages of the past who have left behind a rich legacy, not in the shape of jewels and palaces but more valuable than them—in the shape of "Books! Venus! Books!" They were no Robin-hoods and Lockslays. It is the Kashmiris who always became the intellectual masters of every power that subjugated their country.

Kashmir was too deeply rooted in its traditions

to wither away under the storm of Muslim conquest. The old ascetic life has survived the shock of so many centuries of alien tyrannical rule. The people have known prosperity, poverty religious strife, wars with invaders, shocks of earthquakes, floods, famines, plagues and pestilences. Even the royal holiday-makers were no exception to such shocks. Shah Jahan himself once took shelter in a fisherman's boat to save himself from the rushing torrent. Such are the Kashmiris, the mighty sons of their mighty sires.

The account recorded in these few pages is only a bird's eye-view of an interval of about five thousand years. An historian should not pose as a prophet. (That is why we have refrained from saying what the future holds in its lap). Nor should he preach Patriotism. The boys now reading history at school will find many a surprise as they grow up, but the lessons of history will not have been wasted if they learn the value of studying the past *impartially*. They can do much to make popular the name of Kashmir by good manners and manliness if they care to travel abroad.

CHARACTER OF THE KASHMIRIS.

Kashmiris have easy and pleasant lives. In times of danger they show much courage and endurance. Physically they are among the finest people on earth. Their physique, their character and their language are so marked as to produce a nationality of its own. Intellectual superiority, keenness of perception, clearness of mind and ingenuity dominate their character. Alert intelligence, quick wit and artistic feeling show in them signs of a bright future. They are essentially of mild and cheerful disposition. Their versatile genius wins laurels for them everywhere. They are extremely hospitable and carry the arts of civil life to high perfection. 'Angels, no angles' they surely are. Sir Francis Younghusband remarks, "Inspite of the splendid Moghuls, brute Pathans, bullying Sikhs and rude Dogras, the Kashmiris ever remained the same." The conquerors came in hordes but they scarcely touched the soul of the people. The Kashmiri Pandit is still what he was, inspite of them all. Says Bernier, "Kashmiris are celebrated for wit and considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and science they are not inferior to the Persians. They

are also very active and industrious." "Though the Kashmiris are very intelligent, extremely few have posts in the State service," remarks Sir Francis Younghusband elsewhere. Mr. Biscoe, on the other hand, observes that the morals of the Kashmiris are not high. If they are not high, they are of course superior to the morals of any polished society of to-day. The one great vice which they have got is that they do not reckon cleanliness next to Godliness. Education must bring cleanliness with it. They are of the earth, earthly. Poverty eats up all sap in them.

Men and women generally dress alike. The *Pheron,** a long loose gown, is the principal item of their dress. This helps to breed cowardice in them. Without it they look like a fine race. A Hindu is distinguished from his Muslim brother by the holy mark upon his forehead. Muslims shave their heads to the skin and do not allow hair to grow. Untouchability between the two sister communities is quite unknown. Often they work together and feel no grudge for each other. In short their lots are cast in the same mould and thus they live on peacefully. However you may annoy him the

***The Kashmiri Pandits have begun to discard it now along with other social evils.**

Kashmiri will never attempt to offend you. To provoke his neighbour is not in his scheme. Self-defence he leaves to the mercy of God. When sore pressed he may employ the weapon of passive resistance otherwise that too has got no meaning with him. Surely he is above the average human level.*

Maharaja Gulab Singh once reproachfully remarked—"The Pandits are cowards and lack martial spirit, hence they shirk taking to the military service." A Pandit being present at once replied—"Pray, thank Heaven, the Pandits do not take to military service, for do you not remember what one single Brahmin (Paras Ram) did in ancient times after he wore his belt and sword"? Says Dr. Neve—On the whole the Kashmiris are grateful to benefits. Their moral sense is fairly developed. They readily distinguish from right and wrong. As recorded in the Ruqati Alamgiri Aurangzeb is believed to have said at Agra—The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in public offices. Writes Dr. Neve of the Pandits elsewhere—Their intellectual superiority over the rest of the population must be admitted. They are quick of apprehension and have good memories. One of their besetting

*Recent events have shown that the Kashmiris are not timid.

faults is conceit. But some of them are very superior, trustworthy, honest, clear-headed and industrious. A French gentleman, M. Hick, has written that the Kashmiris are a race of a most superior order in every respect.

We take the following passages from "The India We Served" by Sir W. R. Lawrence to close the chapter:—The Kashmiris are called Hawabin. Nowhere in the East have I met anybody of men so clever and so courteous as the Kashmiri Pandits ....the people were Kashmiris, as they are, inspite of centuries of repression and wanton cruelty. Physically they were splendid, inspite of the effeminate dress which foreign tyrants had imposed on them. As cultivators, as artisans, and as artists they are unrivalled in the East and for brains the Kashmiri Pandit is hard to beat, as all India knows well. They are to be found in many provinces of British India and in the Indian States in the higher ranks of officialdom. And I say after careful examination that the Kashmiris are perhaps as great a people as any in the East....But they will beat all three—Rajputs, Pathans and Punjabis as cultivators, as artisans or as wits. I saw also the growth of self-respect and of manliness and am confident that under a just government they will win a

good name. They not only knew the facts but had the most surprising genius for appraising the real value of other men's land. They supported their valuation by most logical and convincing arguments and during my twenty-one years in India I have never met the equal of these Kashmiri sages.

TREATY OF 1846 A.D.

Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh concluded at Amritsar on 16th March 1846.

*   *   *   *   *

Treaty between the British Government on the one part and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded on the part of the British Government by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

Article 1. The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding La..1, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of Article

4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846 A.D.

Article 2. The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after survey.

Article 3. In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heir by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Mahāraja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st October of the current year 1846 A.D.

Article 4. The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5. Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other

neighbouring states and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join with the whole of his military force the British troops when employed within the hills or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service any British subject nor the subject of any European or American State without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8. Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect in regard to the territory transferred to him the provisions of Articles 5, 6 and 7 of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar dated 11th March 1846.

Article 9. The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10. Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually

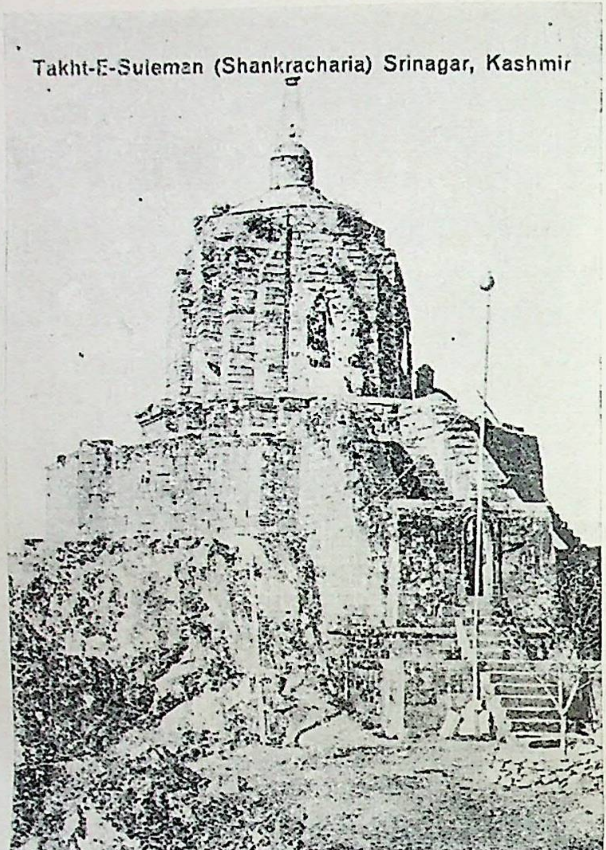
to the British Government one horse, twelve goats (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

This treaty consisting of the above articles has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge G.C.B., Governor-General on the part of the British Government and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Hardinge G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar this 16th day of March in the year of our Lord 1846 corresponding with the 17th day Rabi-ul-Awwal 1962 Hijri.

AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

The land of Kashyapa, we are proud to say, is full of archæological interest. There is not a single spot in the country with which some tale is not connected. The whole land is a land of temples and shrines founded long long ago. Go wherever you will you are sure to meet with some old wonder. Imagination runs riot when lo! We behold an ancient monument whose huge and massive constructions built in days of yore stand to this day as witnesses of a race of giants, unequalled in the histories of chivalry, that once occupied this beautiful land. The reason is plain. The old architects built their temples solid. Their object was to construct imperishable abodes for their gods to dwell in. They chose high ground as much as possible so as to avoid big floods. You must remember that in those days the river valleys were much more full of water than now and the forests also were very dense. Certainly our mighty ancestors have left to us a rich legacy second only to that which the Romans have bequeathed to the present generation. Below we shall attempt to give a brief account of a few historical places trusting that the reader will himself carry on the investigations with a scholarly zeal in this yet unexplored part of the globe.



Shankracharia Temple.

Shankeracharya or Tukt-i-Suleiman.

"The mountainous portal that opens,
Sublime from the valley of bliss to the world."

The temple on the top of the Shankeracharya hill once called Gopadri is supposed to have been built by Sandiman 2629—2564 B.C. and later on repaired by Gopaditya 426—365 B.C. and Lalitaditya 699—736 A.D. According to another authority Jaloka built it in about 220 B.C. Some assign to it the date 300 B.C. but this is generally considered inaccurate. Others mention the year 300 A.D. as the probable date of its foundation. Tradition says that the "Lingam" was placed inside the temple by a goldsmith named Raja Hishti in the year 54 of the Hindu era. An inscription quotes the name of Khwaja Rokm, son of Mirjan, in connection with its origin. Sikandar the Iconoclast did not raze it to the ground because he thought (erroneously) that Mahmud Ghazni might have read prayers in it. The god to whom it is dedicated deserved such honour from mortal hands. The temple commands a fine view of the city that lies prostrate at its foot. Even in such a land of precious stones of architecture the Suleiman remains a gem of the first water.

PERI MAHAL.

This is the fairy palace. Tradition has it that Prince Dara Shikoh designed it for his tutor Mulla Shah. Another authority says that it was once used for astronomical observations by the kings of old. It stands on an isolated crag and with almost perpendicular sides towards the top. The Peri Mahal has stood for centuries weather-worn, sad, alone and untenanted which proves that the *peris* have it in their possession—but where are they?

"Look on its broken arch, its ruined wall,
Its chambers desolate, and portals foul;
Yes, this was once Ambition's airy hall,
The dome of thought, the palace of the soul."

Lord Byron.

THE TEMPLE OF PAYECH.

The sloping knoll on which it stands, the cool shade of a clump of walnut trees close by, the glimpses of a village seen through the trees behind and the cheerful brook running at the foot of the slope, form a charming setting to a building which would be dwarfed by a scenery of a grander scale. The temple built of ten stones only, now in ruins, seems to be of long standing. Archæologists do not defi-

nitely estimate its exact date. And who built it that also is not exactly known?

THE TEMPLE OF PANDRETHAN.

This temple has one of the largest moats. Cunningham says that it was probably built in 930 A.D. by Meru during the reign of King Partha. Round it once spread the old capital of Kashmir when none but the Aryans lived here. It was also once Asoka's Srinagar.

AVANTIPUR.

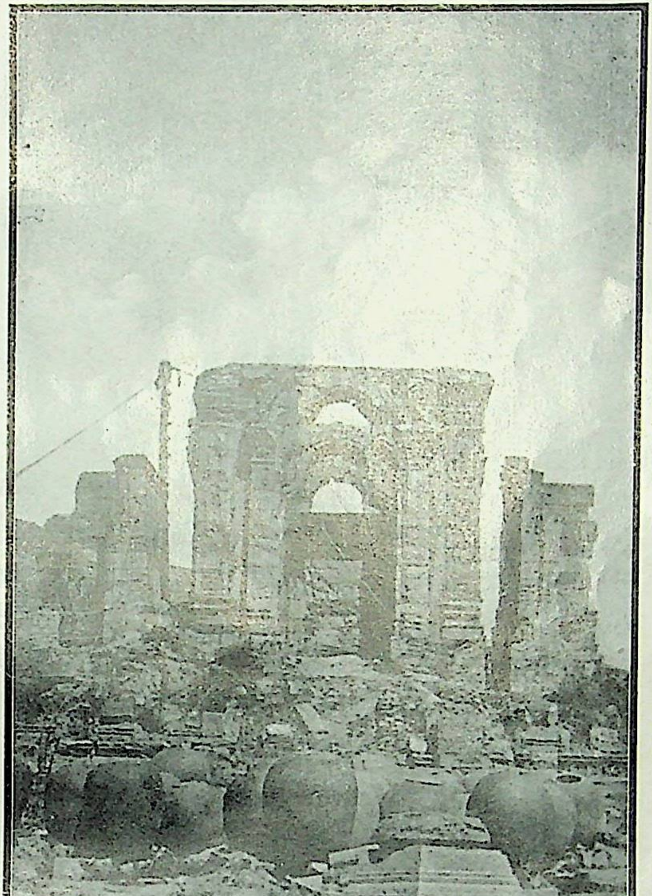
The archæologists are of opinion that the temples here were built in the ninth century by King Avantivarma who had his capital here. The balconies, alternate angular and rounded fluting set off the natural contrasts of massive stones of which they are built. Nothing sadder or more beautiful exists in India than this deserted city—the silent witness of a vanished dream. It still stands with its long circuit, its bastioned gates, its wonderful palaces, peerless in the whole Hindustan for its noble design and delicate adornment. Its carvings stand as they stood in Avantivarma's time but now a body without a soul. Ruinate it has remained ever since, desolate and abandoned. No later ruler of Kashmir has ever aspired to dwell in Avantivarma's Versailles.

SUMBAL.

About one mile from the bridge over the Jhelum on the left bank is Andarkoth, the former capital of Jayapida, the grandson of Lalitaditya. Kuta Rani, the last Hindu queen of Kashmir, is said to have committed suicide here (A.D. 1339).

THE TEMPLE OF MARTUND.

The date of this temple is favoured to be the eighth century by some archæologists. Cunningham places its date between 370—500 A.D. but Ferguson does not admit its foundation before the eighth century. Roughly speaking it is between 2,000 and 1,500 years old. The temple of Martund appears to be the ruins of a grand old temple enclosed in a quadrangle of columns and arches forming cloisters all round it. It is about 200 ft. long and 150 ft. broad. There are about eighty-four carved pillars many of which lie prostrate on the ground. Martund with its beauty in desolation has stirred the poet's vision of a Heber and compelled the homage of the wisest critic of Indian art. It is a dream in stones designed by Titans and finished by Jewellers. It only needed a glass case. Its architecture is fairer than the site of the Parthenon, or of the Taj, or of St. Peter, or of the Escurial. This



Martund Ruins (Kashmir).

temple with a mighty tradition behind it is now the lonely watcher on the mountain side. It alone had the strength to come out alive from a huge blazing fire that could burn up cities. The temple exists still but who planned its destruction is no more. Certainly it is not less imposing than Persepolis.

PATTAN.

There are ruins of two very fine temples at Pattan attributed to King Shankeravarman 883—902 A.D. who flourished in the ninth century. These offsprings of faith and wealth are now mute, as is a dead body in the wilderness.

RUINS AT WANGAT.

"These are of a steep wilderness whose
airy sides,
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and
wild,
Access denied, and overhead up grew,
Inseparable height of loftiest shade, cedar,
and pine, and fir."

Distance lends enchantment to this place—an enchantment which baffles the novelist, for he feels that his imagination pales before actuality. Nothing precisely can be said as to the date of its origin or its founder.

BIJBIHARA.

A high and isolated *karewa* lies at a couple of miles from Bijbihara. Here is visible the site of one of the oldest and most famous temples of Kashmir which was occupied by crowds of refugees and soldiers during the civil wars of King Sussala's time. The wooden ramparts were set on fire by the besiegers from which ensued a terrible holocaust. This sacred place gets its name from the temple of Siva Vijayesuara. A bridge over the Jhelum was in existence here in the twelfth century.

A fine grove of chinar trees, the remains of a garden planted by the unfortunate prince Darashikoh, is still visible on each bank of the river.

SHAH HAMDAN.

Kutub-ud-Din demolished the temple of Kaleshwari and built the present Shah Hamdan Mosque (after a saint who came from Hamdan in Persia towards the end of the fourteenth century and converted the greater part of the people to Islam) with its material. Hasan Shah and Barkat Ali rebuilt the Mosque in 1479 A.D. and 1731 A.D. respectively. A spring dedicated to Kali is still believed to exist inside the Mosque to which the



Shah-E-Hamdan Mosque.

Hindus are now denied entrance. How strange are the notions of the people who put their own hereditary claims to the one Almighty God! The reputed walking stick of Christ kept in this Mosque is exhibited on rare occasions.

PATHAR MASJID.

Nur Jahan built this Mosque for saying prayers in it. The Sunnis had abandoned it since because she belonged to the Shiah sect. It was now under the State control but M. Hari Singh restored it back to the Muslims in 1931.

JAMA MASJID.

Sikandar demolished the temple built by Taradega 693—697 A.D. and out of its material he constructed a huge Mosque now known as Jama Masjid. It was first built in 1404 A.D. and afterwards rebuilt in the years, 1479, 1619, 1674, 1841 and 1912 A.D.

HAZRAT BAL.

The Ziarat at Hazrat Bal contains a sacred hair of the Prophet. The hair is said to have been placed in it by Khwaja Nur-ud-Din who brought it from Bijapur in 1700 A.D. It is here that the famous feast of roses is celebrated every spring.

SADAHAWASHRI.

It is now the Ziarat of Pir Haji Mohamed. Praversen 11 is supposed to have first built a temple here.

RANESHWARA.

Raneshwara now the Ziarat of Madin Sahib is ascribed to Ranaditya 414—474 A.D.

AMRITABHAWA.

This shrine is referred to Amritaprabha, Queen of Meghvahna 22 B.C.

VIKRAMESHWARA.

This holy place is attributed to Vikramaditya 521—563 A.D.

BANDI.

The temple at Bandi belongs either to the Hindus or to the Budhists. It was built in about 700 A.D.

BHUNYAR.

The temple at Bhunyar dedicated to the goddess Bhawani was built probably in the fifth century.

FATEHGARH.

The temple of Fatehgarh is of long standing. Maharaja Ranjit Singh built his Fort here.

TARPAR.

The temple at Tarpar called Narendrashwara was built by Narendraprabha 634—684 A.D., son of Pratapaditya.

NARPIRASTAN.

The edifice at Narpirastan is attributed to Lehna Narendraditya 178—191 A.D.

MAHASHRI.

It is now a graveyard. Pravarsena 11 is supposed to have built a temple here.

SKANDABHAWAN.

It was probably built by Skanda Gupta. Minister of Yudhishtra 11, 139—178 A.D.

LOKHRIGAR.

The shrine at Lokhrigar is attributed to Pravarsena 11.

KSHEMA GAURISHWARA.

Kshema Gupta 950—958 A.D. is thought to have built a temple here.

DIDHA MATHA.

It is now the tomb of Malik Sahib. The Queen of Kshema Gupta built a temple here.

Besides these, there are numerous other ruins which need careful research. Some are under the Mohammedan possession while others have assumed

a different form due to the severe changes brought about by time and the cruel interference of man. Who is there to restore them back to their original form? Oh man! Thou art only a destroyer and not a preserver. Where is gone thy zeal and energy? Call them back that thou mayest also deserve to be called man by posterity else thou art only a beast given to the simple care of this mortal frame which awaits to be transformed into dust any day. Who does not owe a deep to his motherland?

Note on the fabric of Society in Kashmir as depicted in Rajatarangini.

Religion.—Historians maintain that the real history of Kashmir begins with the reign of Asoka. Budhism went on its way side by side with Hinduism. There was no religious antipathy which often leads to persecution. It often happened that while the father adhered to one faith the son adhered to another (iii. 2 and 99). Sometimes kings and their ministers also professed different faiths (iii. 350 and 380). Grants of land to temples, Brahmins and monasteries were immense but there are numerous instances in which such grants were either diverted or confiscated (iv. 395, v. 52, v. 170. vi. 175, vii. 106, 570, 696 and 1344, viii. 2756).

Atheists also there existed many. For instance Kalhana narrates how the king's cousin came to the king with a grievance against his own son who wanted to oust him (vii. 252). Again Harsha would not have succeeded in his way had there been a really unanimous adverse public opinion (vii 1090).

Caste.—There was no caste system during the reigns of Asoka, Kanishka, Juska and Huska (i 170. Even if it did exist it was not so rigid as at

present. Brahmins, however, seem to have existed as a distinct caste (i. 342, iv. 96 and 645).

References to caste commence from Chandrapida. Lalitaditya's mother had been the wife of a foreign merchant (iv. 37). A tanner who wished for an interview with the king calls himself a pariah (iv. 76). The Prime Minister of Lalitaditya was a Mongolian and a Budhist (iv. 211). A glimpse of Kayasthas may be had from iv. 621, vii. 38 and viii. 2383. Chandals *i.e.* men of impure caste are first mentioned in Jayapida's time (iv. 475). They worked as watchmen and scavengers (v. 74, vi. 76 and 192, v. 77). A reference to Vaishas may be found in the accounts of the eleventh century. Often persons of low caste rose to highest positions (vii. 207, v. 73, iv. 678, viii. 3424, 3429, vii. 1460, v. 389). Once a Prime Minister of Jayasimha treated sixty-four castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast (viii. 2407).

The first three books of Rajatarangini make no reference to Rajputs or Kshatryas. Jayapida gave himself out to be a Rajput and won a beautiful bride. Rajputs are not again mentioned till the eleventh century. The army sent by the Hindu Sahi King Tirlokapala against Mahmud of Ghazni

consisted of many Rajputs (vii. 48). We also find four arrogant Rajput princes at the court of the Kashmir king (vii. 274). From that time the number increased (vii. 325 360 and 368). Seldom did Kashmir tolerate non-Kashmiris (viii. 1328). The word "Kshatrya" first appears as applied to king Harsa of Kashmir and so then to Bhoja, Prince Sangiya, Bhijja, Lanaraja and so on (viii, 376, 3031, 3230, 3348, 1190 and 1091).

Though there existed some castes yet the great mass of the population was not divided by any very rigid lines of demarcation. The process of differentiation was there but it never reached anything like the rigidity of the caste system as displayed in modern India (vi, 130).

Institutions of Government.—Up to Asoka's time there were seven main state officials, the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the Army, the Envoy, the Priest and the Astrologer. Asoka's successor established the traditional eighteen offices (i. 118). Lalitaditya appointed five princes to supervise these officials (iv. 141). These posts did not become generally hereditary.

There were regular law cases. Sometimes the

king tried cases himself (vi. 14 and viii. 123). People dissatisfied with law courts or with executive actions used to go out on hunger-strike just as in Japan and commit suicide.

The king maintained regular spies or informers (the present C.I.D.) to give him all news of interest (v. 81, viii. 511, vi. 14 and iv. 82). Mention of hunger-strikes is made in viii. 939, iv. 99, viii. 900, 658, 2224 and 2225, vii. 602. King Uccala hit on a novel method of keeping his judges honest. He took a vow that if any one killed himself by hunger-striking he would himself commit suicide (viii. 51).

Deeds of sale were in writing. Sometimes people were banished for forgery (vi. 30, 38, 41). Interest was rarely paid (viii. 155). The head of a family was taken to task for the immoral conduct of a woman (viii. 3336). Universities and hospitals existed everywhere (iii. 461, vi. 87). City prefects only amassed money in the time of a mean king. It is seldom that they introduced useful reforms (vi. 70, viii. 3335 and 3336). We find that the institution of *begar* also existed (v. 174, viii. 2513, vii. 1088. The land revenue was collected in kind through the *patwari* (v. 175, iv. 628). Jayapida and rulers of

his way of thinking often took the whole grain from the people (iv. 628, 347, 631 vii. 1107). Yet there were benevolent rulers also who issued grain at cheap rates from the state granaries to relieve distress (viii. 61).

Finance.—Collection of revenue was on the whole irregular (iv. 189, viii. 3335). Tolls were levied on the bridges (viii. 136) and customs were collected at the fortified frontier posts. The King's name in red lead was stamped on goods which had paid customs (viii. 2010).

Army.—Infantry and cavalry composed the army (v. 248). Passes were strongly fortified and jealously guarded under Dwarapati or warden of the marches. It was the general policy in these days to see that people got no opportunity to rise against their rulers (iv. 345, 346, 347, 348, 349—52). But this policy did not ultimately succeed as can be seen from the rise of the Damaras.

Customs and habits.—*Purdah* was quite unknown. Suttee was almost in fashion (v. 226, xiii. 448, 1223—24, vii. 858, 1380, 103, 481, 724, 478, 1486, 1579, vi. 107, viii. 445 and 1441) much more in royal families than among the masses. Drinking spirits was held respectable among better class

people (viii. 1466, iv. 310, v. 206 vi. 10,150, vii. 285, viii. 868 and 1866). Cats and dogs were kept as pets (viii. 139, 2413). Famines were due to isolation and internal commotions.

A disease called the luta disease was much dreaded. Exhibitions of singing and dancing, religious festivals and pilgrimages were the amusements of the people (vii. 515). Kings sometimes went jackal-hunting; throwing spears were used (vi. 181). Dogs and nets were also used. Doms were the netters (vi. 182). Falcons were kept (vii. 1046). People used to bow to the new moon in the hope of getting new clothes (viii. 798). The art of gold plating on copper was introduced in the latter half of the eleventh century (vii. 529, viii. 3364).

Architecture.—It is after the rise of Budhism that Hindus began to build temples. The Kashmir classical style is fundamentally different from any other style of Hindu architecture. Writes Sir A. Cunningham.

'The architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable of the existing monuments of India, as they exhibit undoubted traces of the influence of Grecian art. The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge col-

lection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temple is usually a vast forest of pillars, made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their petty details. On the other hand the Kashmirian fanes are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts. and by the happy propriety of their decorations.

They cannot, indeed, vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument of Lysicrates, but they possess great beauty, different indeed, yet quite their own.'

The Kashmirian architecture is characterised by its lofty pyramidal roofs, its trefoiled doorways, covered by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of its intercolumniations suited equally well to rainy and snowy climates. There is no doubt that the Kashmirian style was well known to Greeks. A Kashmirian pillar has a base, a shaft and a capital. The local architecture has also a stereotyped style. The trefoil arch of Kashmir is very original and interesting as may be seen from the remains of some old monuments.

A REJOINDER TO PROFESSOR JADU NATH SARKAR

(*By P. Gwasha Lal B.A.*)

Writes Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar in his book "History of Aurangzeb, Volume V, 1924 edition on page 415".

"So backward were the people in civilisation that even the upper classes of Kashmiris were deemed unfit to be employed in the Imperial Service as Mansabdars, till near the end of Aurangzeb's reign. We learn that it was only in 1699 that the Emperor was first induced by the then Subedar to appoint people of Kashmir as Mansabdars in any appreciable number..........No Kashmiri Hindu gained any Office under the Mughal Empire, and as for the common Muslims of the province, if they were villagers they were despised as ignorant savages, and if townsmen as lying flatterers and cowardly cheats. In this universal closing of honourable and responsible careers to talent, the intellectual cleverness of certain classes of the natives developed into glibness of tongue, low cunning and skill in treacherous intrigue—so that in Moghul India a Kashmiri came to be a by-word for a smooth-spoken rogue as the Gracculus was in the early days of the Roman Empire."

(Professor Sarkar says that this account is based on Tarikhi Azmi).

How these above laid conclusions are misleading may be studied from the following quotations:—

Aurangzeb once paid a compliment to the intelligence of the Kashmiris especially that of the Pandits at Agra as is recorded in the Ruqat-i-Alamgiri:—

"Kashmiri Darin Mulk Nestand Ki ma muqqarrar kunem" (The Kashmiris are not to be found here that we might appoint them in public offices).

The list of Kashmiri Peshkars under the Mughals is given below:—

1. Pandit Tota Ram (1586 A.D.; 2. Pandit Mahadev (1642 to 1651 A.D.).

Khwaja Mam set fire to his house but when Shahjahan heard this he was very much incensed and punished the offenders.

3. Pandit Zairam Bhan became the Dewan at Delhi under Nasir-ud-Din Mohammad Shah.

Once the Hindus of Kashmir complained to Emperor Jahangir against Qulich Khan. He wrote the following warning. "*Hukumat Panaha.*

Dadkhwahani-tu-bisyar Shukarguzarani-tu-kam. Abi Sahab bar lab-i-tashnagan birez warnah az hakumat barkhiz." O protector of Administration. Thy complainants are many, thy thanksgivers are few. Pour cold water on the lips of the thirsty or else get away from the administration. As regards the character of the Kashmiris we refer the reader to our "A Short History of Kashmir—" Illustrated [third edition] for a wider study of the subject in which are recorded the opinions of eminent authors like Francis Younghusband, Bernier, Dr. Neve, Mr. Hick [A French Gentleman] and last but not the least in importance of Sir W. R. Lawrence in "The India we served" which we have not reproduced here for want of space.

We would not have ventured to offer a criticism to an eminent Historian of Professor Sarkar's reputation had we not been challenged that he was recognised as an authority on the comparative study of the Moghul period in India. We hope the learned Professor will also be pleased to acknowledge this criticism to us.

From
The Princely India, Delhi.
The Akhbar-i-Am, Lahore.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS CONSULTED.

1. Lalla Rukh (Emerald set with pearls) by F. Parbury.
2. Kings of Kashmir by J. C. Dutt.
3. Kalhana's Rajtarangini—M. A. Stein.
4. History of Sikhs—
5. Kashmir and Kashghar—T. W. Bellow.
6. Results of a Tour in Dardistan, Kashmir, Little Tibet, etc.—J. W. Leitner.
7. Trip to Kashmir and Ladakh—C. Lambert.
8. Thirty Years in Kashmir—A. Neve.
9. The Valley of Kashmir.
10. The India We Served—Lawrence.
11. Kashmir—Younghusband.
12. Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade—C. E. Tyndale Biscœ.
13. *a.* Geography of J. and K. State *b.* The Kashmiri Pandit—P. Anand Kaul.
14. *a.* History of Kashmir *b.* Shababi Kashmir—Mohamed-ud-Din Fok.
15. In the Land of Lalla Rukh—Wadia.
16. History of Sikhs—Cunningham.
17. Lonely Summer in Kashmir—Morrison.
18. A Guide to Kashmir—J. Duke.
19. Rambles in Kashmir—S. Narrel.

20. Afoot through the Kashmir Valley—M. Doughty.
21. Beyond the Pir Panjal—L. F. Neve.
22. The Happy Valley—W. Wakefield.
23. Travels in Himalayan Provinces—Moorecraft.
24. Bernier's Travels.
25. Jammu and Kashmir Territories—F. Drew.
26. Picturesque Kashmir—A. Neve.
27. Adventures in Tibet—S. Heden.
28. Trip to Kashmir—J. Arbuthnot.
29. Travels in Kashmir and Punjab—B. C. Hugel.
30. Charm of Kashmir—O'Cooner.
31. Mediæval India—Lanepool.
32. History of India—Thompson.
33. History of England—Morris and Macaulay.
34. "Gulab Singh"—Pannikar.

And So on.